



Ralph Blanchard

THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS, 76th ANNUAL MEETING
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
CLEVELAND, OHIO, JUNE 12-17, 1949



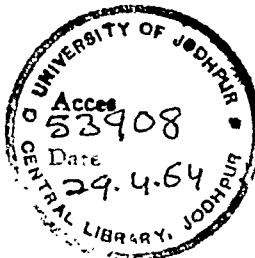
जोधपुर लिप्ति दास द्वयालय ९५०

PUBLISHED FOR THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BY COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS NEW YORK

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Published by Columbia University Press, New York

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जोधपुर विश्वविद्यालय ब्रन्थालय
भरतगढ़ संख्या ५३९०८ दिग्गज
कामक संस्था

YX-7382/1149 50



PUBLISHED IN GREAT BRITAIN, CANADA, AND INDIA
BY GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, TORONTO, AND BOMBAY

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



Foreword

THIS IS a brave book. It attempts to capture, and hold between two frail covers, the essence of wisdom that came out of a Conference of 5,000 people meeting in almost constant session for six rugged days, on the tremendous topic: "Toward a Better Life—the positive role of Social Work in Resolving Social Conflict and Attaining Social Goals."

Several things seem to me to have been memorable about this Conference. One was the theme itself—a theme so broad that it seemed to cover the earth, and yet so penetrating that it could and did strike deep at the core of almost every social problem today. The theme itself made this a notably inclusive Conference. Social work drew into its deliberations not only its own leaders, but distinguished spokesmen of other great social forces—religion, education, government, and industry, both labor and management—all of which, by many different roads, are struggling toward this goal of "a Better Life" for mankind. It was good for us to see each other there, to recognize each other as natural allies, and I think we came away with a new sense of the vastness of our combined resources, and the potential strength of our interdependence.

Another memorable feature of the Conference was, to my mind, the presence and active participation of far more than the usual number of social work laymen. The subject of "citizen participation" refused to be fenced in by a few labeled meetings. It popped up spontaneously and persistently in almost every session, large or small, whether or not it was on the official agenda. Certainly it was well demonstrated that no program, governmental or voluntary, that is aimed at "the better life" will amount to much, no matter how well conceived or ably administered, unless it is sparked and supported by an aroused, informed, and actively participating citizenry. "I've learned one thing," a professional social work executive told me, "I'll never again come to one of these conferences without bringing a bunch of my board members."

This was what I should call a realistic Conference. We faced facts squarely, and without hedging. This was true whether the subject was "Social Goals for the Nation" or "How Much Social Welfare Can America Afford?" One sentence that caught the general fancy and was often quoted was in praise of facts: "Statistics can be the radar of social work."

We have prepared this volume with two thoughts in mind: to give a picture of the conference to those who were not able to be present, and to recall some of the highlights for those who were there. Thus, the reader will find all the speeches delivered at the morning and evening General Sessions plus a summary of the Section meetings arranged by the National Conference, as well as those of the so-called "Associate Groups." A selected group of papers from the Section meetings is being published in a second volume, *Social Work in the Current Scene*.

I hope that this book, blending social facts with positive and productive attitudes toward social work, will be a "radar" for all who seek to know the truth about what went on at the Cleveland Conference.

RALPH H. BLANCHARD
*President, National Conference of
Social Work*

New York, New York
September 1, 1949

The National Conference of Social Work—Its Future Role

By JOE R. HOFFER

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, if it is to maintain its traditional role as a major force in the improvement of social welfare services, must be sensitive to the common educational needs of workers, both social technicians and citizen volunteers. It must continue to translate the educational aims of its members into substance.

The history of the National Conference has been the history of social work in the United States. Its seventy-five previous annual meetings and its publications record the long, hard pull to establish a more democratic, humane concept of social welfare. Its leaders have stressed, time and time again, that the individual is the most precious thing on earth. The Conference, throughout its lifetime, has demonstrated an amazing reservoir of initiative, creative imagination, and capacity for concerted action. Today, it proves an old maxim: old wood burns with the fiercest flame.

The major method of the Conference—free critical discussion and examination of social welfare problems—has stood the test of time, not only in advancing the scientific boundaries of social work, but in providing a forum for any and all groups and organizations in the field. The National Conference affords the one regular opportunity each year for the potential forces and interests—all of them, and as one integrated whole—to find free expression in their search for a better way of performing their jobs.

This free atmosphere has encouraged and stimulated workers on all levels of operation to describe their work and record their thinking. Individuals, tens of thousands of them, have left these annual meetings, tired physically perhaps, but refreshed in spirit and mind. Many others, unable to attend in person, have turned to the *Proceedings* for up-to-date information and for guidance.

Looking at the record of the National Conference of Social Work one can conclude that a "forum" in social work is indispensable—indispensable to the maintenance and growth of freedom of thought, expression, and association. Thus, the role of a forum is to insure equal opportunity to workers and organizations in the field to express their unique differences, an opportunity to appraise the work of others, an opportunity to help lead the present forces in the proper direction.

If individuals engaged actively in this field of endeavor—in either a paid or a voluntary capacity—expect to play their part, they must continue to learn throughout their lives from study, discussion, and experience the changing character of the problems which confront society. They must learn also about the changing means available for solving them. Finally, they must do all this in spite of the engrossing demands of their chosen vocations.

It is in this area that the National Conference of Social Work has a definite contribution to make. As an organization it can be likened somewhat to an investment company organized in the interest of the stockholders and managed by its elected officers. It does not distribute the evidence of its success in certified checks. Its dividends are more important, however. Whether a social worker participates actively in the affairs of the Conference or not—indeed, even though he is not a member—as a socially minded individual, he benefits by its existence and activities.

There are at least two questions which we must answer before we can make a decision regarding the future role of the Conference:

1. What are the common educational needs of the workers and agencies in the field of social welfare?

2. What and how can the National Conference contribute to meeting these needs?

We must start, first, with the premise that the worker, be he paid or volunteer, exists because of the continuing need to provide social services to individuals, groups, or communities. Second is the premise that each worker should have the essential training for the task assigned to him. Finally, the total welfare of the individual served is the point of orientation.

In the past year I have had an opportunity to discuss these two

questions with individuals and groups in many communities. I have read the manuscripts submitted by our speakers for presentation at this Annual Meeting. In my opinion, the most significant educational needs in the field may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a need to identify our common methods and techniques. One has only to attempt to classify the subject content of the papers scheduled for presentation on this year's program to recognize this need.

2. There is a need to provide a more objective and factual base for our discussion. Our effectiveness as workers and agencies depends on our ability to develop a critical attitude that demands validation of claims. Therefore, we owe it to ourselves and to the sincerity of our purposes to improve our objectivity.

3. There is a need for an increased interchange of points of view between paid and volunteer workers, between social welfare and its allied fields, between the functional services within the field of social welfare itself. Our tendency has been to confine the selection of speakers and materials to narrow areas of specialization and to fail to provide for this two-way flow of information.

4. There is a need for a clearinghouse of basic educational material for use on a local, state, national, or international level. Many local study groups, as well as state and national conferences, could benefit from a more systematic method of collecting and distributing program planning materials.

5. There is a need for a better distribution of generic and basic literature. Unfortunately, many outstanding papers and other manuscripts are not given the distribution which they deserve, and thus they do not reach the individuals or groups who would benefit most from them.

What can the Conference do about these needs? I think that it can do a great deal. We have had an excellent committee, under the chairmanship of Robert P. Lane, examining the structure, function, and program of the Conference. Its report, "A Working Hypothesis," has been distributed, and copies are available to members. There are several implications and provisions of the study which we should consider—implications and provisions which may give us some answers to our questions:

1. The committee recognized the role of established national functional agencies and national membership organizations. Their job, it seemed to the committee, is to emphasize the specialized and highly technical subject matter for which they were organized. Therefore, the Conference should stress generic and basic subject matter.
2. The committee recognized the importance of paid and volunteer workers combining their resources and energies as full partners in the future.
3. The committee recognized that one of the major obligations of the Conference is to advance knowledge and to diffuse it, not merely among those who can attend the Annual Meeting, but far and wide.
4. The committee reaffirmed the present purposes of the Conference—purposes which require for their fulfillment the utilization of all media of communication, not only the spoken word, but other appropriate audiovisual media.
5. The committee recommended that increased emphasis be given to forum services to state conferences and the International Conference of Social Work.

With these provisions in mind we may visualize better the future role of the Conference. It should be a partnership of paid and volunteer workers; it should emphasize generic and basic subject matter; it should develop other media of expression.

We have made a small beginning in meeting these needs this year. We think we have retained the best of the old while adding some new. Our publications' exhibits have been expended. We have a Conference theater for the first time. Commercial exhibitors have been invited to display products of special value to agencies, products which will increase the efficiency and effectiveness of agencies. We are planning to publish *Proceedings* which will be more comprehensive and, we hope, more useful. Other developments are in the process of discussion.

One of the frequent questions raised by those attending the Annual Meeting is, "How can we attend all the meetings and exhibits?" The answer is simple: "You can visit all the exhibits, but it is a sheer impossibility to attend even one tenth of the more than

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PART ONE

Social Goals for America

By LOUIS WIRTH

IT WOULD BE PRESUMPTUOUS for anyone to try to articulate for the people of this nation and the members of the human race, their longing, their fears, and their goals. We can only speak for ourselves and in doing so be willing to learn from one another. Looking back upon the history of the National Conference of Social Work, which is now in the fourth lap of its first century of existence, it is apparent that the goals of the people of this land have been both constant and highly variable. We still believe, indeed we believe more than ever, in the basic principles upon which this nation was founded, and yet from day to day, and year to year, and decade to decade, these goals have taken on new hues and colors so that perhaps if the founders could examine us as we are today, they themselves would feel like strangers in our midst.

As we move into the second half of this troubrous twentieth century it is appropriate to consider the road that we should travel. The cynics among us might say that we do not know where we are going but we know we are on our way. They would imitate that legendary bird, the whiffenpoof, which was in the habit of flying backward because it did not care where it was going but was very much interested in where it had been. There are many more Americans, I fear, than there ought to be, who are interested more in where we have been than where we are going.

If we recall that this nation was built upon the ideals of the improvement of human life, the enhancement of liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and if we recognize the degree upon which the whole world depends upon our example and upon our aid, we cannot, at this critical stage in history, ignore the responsibility that falls upon us for clarifying the goals toward which we are moving so that we may devise the means best calculated to realize them. This responsibility in a democracy like ours falls upon all the citi-

zenry. It is a particularly pressing responsibility for those who have chosen to devote themselves expressly or professionally to the broad field of human welfare. Unless they assume special responsibility we shall probably find that what is supposed to be everybody's business turns out to be nobody's business.

Fortunately, because of our national heritage, we need not invent these goals anew. They have been implicit in our history as a nation and have been eloquently articulated in many statements of public policy. In a sense, in the broadest and deepest sense, they are also the goals of the wider civilization in which we share. Each generation, however, has the task of restating these goals in terms of its own conditions of life, in terms of its own potentialities and its own emerging problems. There have been many such restatements in line with our best traditions, many of them in recent years. The National Resources Planning Board, with which I had the honor to be connected, set forth a particularly significant statement of these goals just two years before Congress cut its throat from ear to ear. The Four Freedoms, the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter, the Declaration of Human Rights, represent merely the most recent versions of the fundamental creed toward which civilized men the world over, and not merely we as a nation, have been moving, however slowly. These pronouncements, however, are still more an affirmation of faith and an expression of hope than solid achievement either here in the United States or anywhere else in the world. In some parts of the world, indeed, they are only in the germinal stage. Sometimes they seem forever to lie in the realm of Utopia. They give us an indication, however, of the proper agenda for a living democracy.

It is well, therefore, that we should turn first to the unfinished business before us—and who is there to say that democracy is even half finished? This business will, of course, forever remain unfinished, for not only is there a scarcity of resources in many parts of the world, but there is also the ever widening horizon of the enlarging and multiplying human wants generated by the vision of new possibilities, the discovery of new resources, and the recognition of new human needs. There is also the lack of agreement among men as to ways and means, and indeed as to the meaning

of the words that we use to express our fears and our hopes. There is also, and this is perhaps as important as the disagreements, the even more widespread apathy, the provincial conception of individual and group interests, and the overt resistance to change that comes from established habits of doing things.

Social problems are not the same in all ages, and they do not arise from the nature of things or from the nature of the world. Social problems are made by men. They derive from a recognition of the discrepancies between the actual and the possible. New rights are born out of the realization of new potentialities. Therefore, we should never expect happiness and satisfaction to be complete. We catch them only on the wing. With new potentialities men assert new rights. If social problems are man-made they can also be unmade by man.

We refer to many of the evils of the world as "acts of God." Generally speaking, all the stupid or brutal things that happen in the world, including wars, strikes, famines, riots, revolutions, are "acts of God," at least so the lawyers write into their contracts, and all the clever things that happen we give ourselves credit for. It is time that we recognize that the things that we call "social problems" are the makings and the unmakings of man. We have a long tradition, particularly here in America, that the impossible is merely a little more difficult than the rest to achieve. There was a time, at least there was that brief interval, largely poll-made, a few weeks prior to November, 1948, when some people thought that the clock of progress in this nation had stopped. There were more than a few who were ready to turn it back as far as it would go. They had only a brief moment of enthusiasm, and then the voice of the people spoke and reaffirmed a policy which in broad outlines we have been following for over fifteen years. That policy, which some critics saw as a specter and which others hoped was merely a temporary, depression-induced deviation from a normal course, is now seen to be an almost irreversible feature of American life.

As one American historian has said:

Perhaps the best new description of the New Deal is the term "Welfare State." Beginning in 1933 the state has openly, and as a normal rather than an exceptional policy, taken the responsibility for the welfare of

the mass of the American people—for social security, working conditions, farming, conservations, and less aggressively, for housing, civil rights, health and education. It has taken this responsibility, not only by standing between the individual and disaster, but in the more positive fashion of protecting and advancing his prosperity and happiness. Though it is common to regard the Welfare State as an invention—or a borrowing—of Franklin Roosevelt, and to describe it as a foreign importation, or a Communist plot, it is, in fact, older than, let us say, the doctrine of "liberty of contract," long celebrated by rugged individualists, and more native than the doctrine of laissez-faire, whose very name advertises its foreign origin.¹

We are told that when government assumes such responsibility we are getting away from the revered doctrine of self-help. Let us accept this challenge of self-help. What is self-help in a society as intricate, as interdependent, and as delicately structured as ours? What are the masses of urban dwellers to do when misfortune befalls them? Are they to take the next subway into the suburban forests and hew the logs for their buildings and fuel, and shoot the bison that roam the suburban plains? What are the farmers to do to help themselves when disaster befalls them? Are they to fill their tractors with oil that they have pumped out of their own oil well in their fields? And what are the white-collar workers to do to help themselves—take in one another's washing of white collars? In a society like ours, what is more expressive of intelligent and democratic initiative than to put into operation the power and the resources of the organized community, volunteer and governmental, to do all those things which the individual is powerless to do for himself?

Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, which the New Deal has somewhat obscured, but which preceded the New Deal and was a movement in essentially the same spirit, furnished the moral and legal justification for the active intervention of the community in remedying the evils of an expanding, urban, industrial America. In his first inaugural address Wilson, calling for a more humane, a more just, and more progressive America, said:

¹ Henry Steele Commager, "Appraisal of the Welfare State," *New York Times Magazine*, May 15, 1949, p. 10.

There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and to be great. . . . There can be no equality of opportunity if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush, or weaken, or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves.

It is most interesting to compare the substance of Wilson's and Roosevelt's programs with recent Republican platforms and to note that Wilson's New Freedom and Roosevelt's New Deal were substantially endorsed by the Republican party in 1940, 1944, and 1948.

Whether it is called the New Deal or the Fair Deal our national policy may henceforth be described without being ashamed and without whispering it as the "welfare state." But what is wrong with the welfare state besides the fact that some newspaper editors and radio commentators do not like it? What is a more legitimate function of the community than to maintain and enhance the welfare of its people? In the world in which we live we have the choice between the welfare state and the police state, and I am sure we, and millions of Americans like us throughout the country, prefer the welfare state to the police state. We are not, as some wishfully thought, at the end of an era, but are merely at the threshold of new possibilities which, in turn, have placed new responsibilities on our shoulders. The popular verdict rendered on the third of November, 1948, reaffirmed that we are embarked on a long-range program for the improvement of human life through the active intervention of government. If I may briefly state the rubrics under which the goals of modern civilization, including our own, may be formulated, they would be: (1) to put a floor under human existence; (2) to equalize opportunities among all men; (3) to insure the maximum and the wisest utilization of our resources and to bring the benefits of the sciences and the arts and an advancing civilization to all people; (4) to integrate all the members of the human race into their respective communities and nations and into a wider organization of mankind, capable of insuring peace and orderly

progress; and (5) to enlarge the area of human freedom and to facilitate man's quest for significance.

Before discussing the chances of realizing these goals it is necessary to particularize their meaning and implications; for unless we know clearly what is comprehended under them we will merely be giving lip service to pious phrases that will make us feel good rather than induce us to act wisely and courageously. Uttering the right clichés in the right places is no substitute for responsible participation in democratically determined action. It is difficult to say when moral exhortation is a catalytic and when it becomes an anesthetic. Hence in analyzing the goals toward which we seek to persuade our fellow citizens to move, we would do well to state them in such a fashion that they will energize rather than paralyze intelligent action.

A realistic appraisal of the social goals of America must take account of competing demands for limited resources. Let me illustrate by means of an example which "starry-eyed social workers" are often accused of ignoring. Our Federal budget for 1949 runs around \$43,000,000,000. It is just about the equal of our total annual national income during the depth of the depression. This would suggest great prosperity and the possibility of great expenditures for human progress and human welfare. But such an impression would be grossly misleading, for more than half of this \$43,000,000,000 goes for armament and the instrumentation of our present foreign policy. In addition to this \$22,000,000,000, about \$10,000,000,000 more goes for servicing our national debt, representing the cost of the last war, and for meeting our obligations for the care of the veterans. Only about one fourth of what our National Government spends, therefore, is left for what we call the promotion of domestic peace and tranquillity, for the ordinary expenses of government, for the maintenance of law and order, and for the broad fields of education, health, and welfare. Our fixed commitments, therefore, leave us little freedom for the expanding needs of our people, and it is within this rigid framework of prior commitments that we must consider the needs and the hopes of men for a better life.

Some of these hopes for which the social workers of America have struggled have, at least in part, been realized, and no one realizes

more clearly the meaning of what social security means to America than those who not so long ago were the very ones who opposed it. Let me quote a brief extract from a bulletin issued by a leading statistical and financial agency in this country—the spring number of the *Outlook*, published by the Standard and Poors Corporation, which is the adviser to investors and business enterprises: "Basically the economic structure is healthy. Many potential demands remain to be translated into actual demands as the general price level is lowered. Moreover, the tremendous money supply created by wartime financing is virtually permanent, placing a floor under the credit structure." And then follow these very significant sentences: "Other supports include the government's farm-aid program, unemployment insurance, guaranteed housing mortgages and the large federal budget. And, of course, the government stands ready to finance made-work projects in the event general business should slip sharply." The report concludes with the forecast that "a depression as severe as in 1920-21 or 1929-32 is out of the question."

Witness what social work has brought in the way of benefaction to the stability of the economic order of a capitalistic America. What was regarded as a handout to the ne'er-do-wells has become one of the principal insurances against a collapse of a delicately poised economic order. America is grateful for what social work has contributed to the stability of our economic system. But like Alice in Wonderland we must run fast in order to stay where we are. We must run fast because the scale in terms of which we have been thinking is not quite adequate for the dimension of the problem with which we have to deal. The problem is one not only of making more solid the present floor which our limited social security measures have built under human existence, but also one of broadening it so that those who are now excluded may also stand on it and with this solid floor under them reach as far as they can toward a better life.

There are many objections put forth, not only to the maintenance, but especially to the enlargement of this first goal, the security of our people. I shall cite them in order:

The first is that it is paternalism. When a democratic people

wants to be its own father, why should this aspiration be regarded as scandalous?

The second is that it is materialism, and I frankly admit that a comprehensive system of social security calls for the expenditure of considerable material. But is there something immoral about a people, by democratic decision, insuring itself of shelter, clothing, food, education, and health? I sometimes worry when I hear these basic needs of man denounced as crass materialism by people who profess to speak for the spiritual aims of America. I sometimes even suspect that what these people have in mind is a substitution of the spiritual for the material goods, or as the International Workers of the World used to put it, "You'll eat pie in the sky when you die." I would not be misunderstood as minimizing the importance and denying the genuineness of the spiritual nature of man. Indeed, that is what makes men human. As George Santayana once said, "If man lives at all he lives in his memories of yesterday and his anticipations of tomorrow." But I wonder whether men must not live before they can strive for great ideals, whether men must not exist before they can possess the spirituality which is so much a part of their potential nature.

If we are concerned about the spiritual values of man, then we had better get busy now putting a material foundation under him so that he can reach for the sky. For man's reach must be farther than his grasp or else what is heaven for. Hence the charge of materialism against the quest for security does not impress me any more than does that of paternalism.

Then there is a third set of charges against the efforts on the part of a democratic people to provide itself through government with security against the individually uncontrollable hazards of life and to improve its living conditions, its health, its education, and welfare, namely, that they spell the abdication of private initiative, the centralization of power, and the building up of a bureaucratic tyranny. Let us say here and now that we want all things done to remedy the deficiencies of our society on the most local levels possible, with the retention of a maximum of private initiative. I am confident that all of us want our local communities and private organizations to retain all the powers and responsibilities that they are

able and willing to take. We take the maximum of local and voluntary responsibility for granted and regard it as an inestimable asset. But, as the enlightened citizenry throughout the country know, many things that remain to be done cannot be done by anything less inclusive than the national community of which we are a part.

When the charge of bureaucracy is made it is well to remember that there is a private as well as a public bureaucracy. It is by no means certain which of the two is more efficient, more honest, less arbitrary, more responsive to criticism, less addicted to nepotism, and less bound up in red tape. Anyway, who are these ogres, called "bureaucrats," in our midst? Let us look around us and see. They are our brothers, sisters, fathers, sons, and daughters. They are ourselves in our capacity as citizens, as freely chosen public servants, subject to the will or even whim of the electorate and to constant public scrutiny, doing the best we can, often for little pay and less recognition, to participate in the organized effort of society to improve the human lot.

The worst of the criticism against the adventure of a democracy in quest of security and the common welfare, however, comes in the form of the sacred shibboleth of states' rights. Some of the most urgent needs of our time have been frustrated because of the reiteration of that musty cliché. Of course we want states' rights, but we do not want the cry of states' rights to be used as a subterfuge to keep the nation as a whole from doing what needs to be done when the states themselves are unwilling to take the responsibility for doing it. I believe in states' rights, too, when the people who advocate them are willing to assume the responsibility that they claim by clamoring for states' rights. But we know that in a large part of the country today the states' rights shibboleth is being used to deny to a portion of the citizenry the rights of national citizenship in the communities where they live. That debases the slogan of states' rights to the level of an unmitigated fraud.

In building a broad and solid foundation of security under our people, and building it ourselves, we face the delicate problem of balancing the needs at home against the needs abroad. Hence whatever progress is going to be made in the field of social welfare at home is going to depend upon the existence of a peaceful and or-

derly world. Those who are devoted to the enhancement of domestic welfare face the inescapable task of helping to persuade our people and our government to leave nothing undone that with the preservation of freedom and self-respect will maintain and insure a peaceful world.

If our first goal is to achieve the maximum basis for human existence of which our resources and skills permit, our second goal is to share those opportunities that we do furnish equally among our people. Here we have one great consolation, namely, that the abolition of inequality of opportunity will not cost us a penny but will add cubits to our stature as a nation among other peoples of the world. Rather than being content to share poverty, however, we must increase the product to be shared and hence must learn to utilize more efficiently the resources of nature and of a rapidly advancing technology. The raising of standards of living of men here and everywhere and the bringing to all the benefit of the sciences and the arts and of an advancing civilization is essential if any part of mankind is to continue to enjoy the advantages it has already attained.

I mentioned earlier that social problems are man-made problems arising out of the discrepancy between expectation and realization. Old age today is a problem to many communities because we know something about what can be done about it, and because human life today has been extended beyond the point of industrial usefulness. And so a great problem emerges, the problem of keeping aged persons productive as nearly as we can and the problem of keeping them happy. That was not a problem when men died when their usefulness ended; but it is a problem today. Typhoid fever is a problem today, not because the disease did not exist before, but because we know what to do about it, through public health measures, through regulating water and milk and food supplies, and through inoculations and other preventive measures. It is these new possibilities that have created the discrepancy between actuality and aspiration. Beyond curing the deficiencies that we have come to recognize as such, we need also positively to enlarge the scope of human satisfaction.

Men everywhere today clamor for rising standards of living, not because they are more materialistic or more greedy, but because they have been given a vision and have been taught the possibility of achieving these standards. And what else should we expect in a world where we spend so much of our energy and so much of our ingenuity through mass communication media to generate appetites in men without at the same time giving them the means for their fulfillment? The wonder is that we have as few delinquents as we have, considering the ideals we plant in men's minds and the frustration that we create by handicapping men in their satisfaction.

With the clamor for rising standards of living comes the clamor for more democratic participation. We have let loose in the world a virus called "democracy," and it has infected the most backward and outlandish of peoples. It has come home to plague us, for people everywhere want the substance of democracy and not merely its glittering symbol. All of us know that the social institutions with which we must live do not adjust themselves automatically to technological innovations or to the emerging social or economic problems. Hence in a democracy we must find ways and means for responsible mass participation in the making of significant decisions. And here I need not reiterate that it is only as organized groups of men that we have any power whatsoever to affect the destinies of our community.

An old teacher of mine, Robert E. Park, used to say, "What a man belongs to constitutes most of his life career and all of his obituary." All of us are what we are and exercise whatever power and influence we may possess because of those with whom we have associated ourselves in a common cause.

Some of my students and I for some years past have been studying what we call "voluntary associations" in Chicago. We have studied several thousand of them in the last few years, and there are many thousands more in that city alone. There is one association among them that intrigues me more than any of the others. It is called the Independent Organization of Unorganized Independents. The name is profoundly symbolic of the spirit of our time, for all of us

realize that without these organizations we are utterly impotent, and yet we fear that each one of them seeks to exercise a monopolistic influence over our loyalty.

The problem we face in a democracy is to get men to distribute their loyalty in due proportion among the significant interests which the organized groups with which they are affiliated represent. We want all men, irrespective of race, creed, color, or national origin, to be able to participate in all the organizations and in all the opportunities which the community affords, in so far as their personal capacities and their personal merits entitle them to membership and participation. And that means we will not exclude anyone because of factors over which he himself has no control.

It is one of the strange foibles of men that they are often proudest of those very things with which they have had least to do; and there is nothing, perhaps, of which some people are prouder, pathetically enough, than their race. And you may be sure that when people are proud of their race, with which of course none of them had anything whatsoever to do, they generally have little else to be proud of. Yet it is in the interest of the enlargement and universalization of opportunity among men, irrespective of these handicaps, that we must seek to institute all those measures which make it possible for all men to exercise their potentialities to the fullest. This includes not merely the negative struggle against the hazards of life, against unemployment, sickness, want, poor housing and slums, and ignorance, but also the positive effort to enrich human life, to develop man's creative powers and provide opportunities for personal growth.

In the light of what we know today about the forces that stunt human life as well as the conditions conducive to wholesome development, we cannot afford to take a restricted view of our responsibilities. There may be people who feel that liberty is merely absence of restraint. You may remember what Anatole France said in one of his more cynical moods. "The rich and the poor alike," he said, "have the inalienable right to sleep under bridges. It's an interesting fact that only the poor avail themselves of that privilege." We want something more than the right to sleep under bridges. We have made great progress in that direction, but the

greatest progress that we are about to make comes in enlarging the area of human freedom. This involves ridding men of unwarranted fears and baseless prejudices; facilitating the integration of the individual into his community; aiding him in developing his untapped resources of personality.

We must learn to live in a world two thirds of whose people would be regarded by most white Americans as inferior because of their color. I hope it will not take all the rest of this century to arrive at the point where we will no longer have to spend our time, as so many of us now have to do, trying to remedy the injustices, the brutalities, the overt and subtle forms of racial and religious discrimination by getting laws passed to guarantee to all men the rights and privileges of human beings and of citizens by qualifying even the most elementary needs of men, such as those for employment, housing, and education, with the words "without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin." I hope the day will soon come when we will look back upon the period when recourse to that clause was necessary as a day of semibarbarism.

It is not necessary to exaggerate the deficiencies of our society in order to gain acceptance for a feasible program of action. Despite the enormous task that remains to be accomplished in these respects and in spite of the many disappointing setbacks which the cause of security, equal opportunity, and enlarging freedom has suffered from time to time, we may proudly take satisfaction in the progress we have made. One of the most interesting documents to come off the government printing press in recent years was the President's Committee on Civil Rights report, "To Secure These Rights." Besides the challenging agenda which the report set forth I know you will share with the authors of this statesmanlike document the conviction which they expressed, that only a free people can continually question and appraise the adequacy of its institutions and that there are not merely cogent economic reasons, but also compelling moral and international reasons for translating our profession of faith in democracy into public policy and action. The unfinished business of democracy, as stated in that report, is not merely a matter of our own integrity, not merely a matter of retaining and enhancing our own resources by using our labor power and skills

to the fullest, but it is also a crucial question which will affect the standing of this nation in the world. If we are going to advance democracy in the world, we will do so by the propaganda of the deed infinitely more effectively than by the propaganda of the word.

Since the beginning of the war, when race relations in this country, because of the need for national unity and because the avowed racialism of the enemy made us self-conscious, became a respectable and patriotic cause, much has happened to encourage us. About thirteen hundred committees and bodies, official and unofficial, devoted to the implementation of the democratic creed with particular reference to racial and cultural relations have been organized throughout the land. These groups have been added to those agencies which have as their primary concern the field of human welfare, strictly speaking. The increasing resources in the field of intergroup relations stand in close reciprocal relationship to the welfare agencies; for as we enhance the material and the spiritual welfare of men we also lower the barriers between them, and as we lower the barriers of race, creed, color, and ethnic origin we also tap new resources for the enlargement of the potential for social progress.

Let us not deceive ourselves, however, about the obstacles in the way. There are some people in our country who seek to use the Constitution of the United States in an illegitimate manner. They use it when it confirms their prejudices but they are not willing to take it one and whole. They would like to see us live by that part of the Constitution which suits them, but they object vigorously when it comes to the Bill of Rights and to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which they regard as mere window dressing.

The problems with which we are concerned are all interdependent one with the other. If we are working in the field of health, we know that our progress ultimately comes up against the upper limits of education and of housing and of general well-being. And if we are working in the field of education we know that we cannot leave untouched housing and health, community organization, and material welfare. Similarly, we recognize that the problems of race relations are not independent of the rest; they include job security,

welfare, housing, health, justice. There is nothing separate to any of them, and to touch one is to be involved in all. As I have already indicated, the great advantage that we enjoy, from the propaganda standpoint, is that whereas so much of our welfare measures will cost money and will, therefore, call for some sacrifices, it will require no sacrifice from any of us to be democratic Americans and democratic citizens of the world. It will add nothing to the national debt, but it will add tremendously to our own integrity and to our potency as a people and a nation in the building of a free, peaceful, and prosperous world.

Regrettably, America's liberal forces have already yielded, if not surrendered, on many of these issues to a minority segment of the nation on the ground that higher strategy requires compromise. I too am in favor of compromise. Compromise is one of the great human inventions. It is to be used when we can foresee that the consequences of the battle fought through will be more costly than a partial victory before the battle is finished. But to compromise before the battle, and during the battle, and after the battle too, is to squander one's moral heritage, and in the end to gain nothing but remorse. I say that the measures that are now before the American people for a wider coverage of health, educational, recreational, and other forms of insurance against the vicissitudes of life that the individual cannot control are among the noncompromisable items on the agenda of our society. One of the most essential items on civil rights is the protection of the civil rights of all our people. Not much lower on the list of priorities is the promotion of scientific research and its application to human needs, physical and social.

What we are seeking to attain through all these measures, which are in the spirit of the best and the highest American tradition, is genuine equality of opportunity, protection against the hazards which only a community can involve, the development of all the latent resources that we have at our disposal. And there are only, as I see it, three general ways in which we can do that: First, we can change the attitudes and the personality of our people. Secondly, we can change the situations under which we live. And thirdly, we can alter the rules of the game under which we are working.

Considering the number of people involved, and the scarcity of trained personnel, it is difficult to approach most of these problems purely from the standpoint of the individual personality and individual therapy. Perhaps if one were to paraphrase Vice President Thomas R. Marshall's famous saying about the greatest need of this country, we could say today that what this country needs most is a good five-cent psychiatrist. Psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers are not available in quality and quantity at the prices that the masses of men can as yet afford. Hence we must work more superficially and in larger groups, altering the conditions of the life of our people and improving the rules of the game by which we live. But at no time need we barter security for freedom or freedom for security, for to put the one over against the other is to establish a false dichotomy.

As one looks at the social movements that are going on in our society to bring about some approximation to the goals which I have been discussing, one sometimes notes that social workers as an organized group not only have little prestige, but also have pathetically little power. I do not underestimate the vision, the enthusiasm, the sense of responsibility, and the catalytic quality which social workers have evidenced in the collective effort for a better America and a better world. Viewing the situation realistically, however, one might as well admit that leadership and power to make these efforts succeed has come, especially in recent years, increasingly from organized labor, organized liberal political movements, organized religion, and the organized community, with social work a somewhat inconspicuous partner in the drives.

Now we are not to blame ourselves or to blame anyone for what seems to be one of the facts of life. But one thing we can do, despite our lack of prestige and power. We can resist and refuse to join in the general hysteria which labels every progressive cause as subversive and thereby stifles every movement, however decent, patriotic, and practical, that touches a vested interest. We cannot meet what is often spoken of as the "Communist threat" and sometimes as the "Communist challenge" merely by looking under our beds upon rising and retiring and thrice in between. We cannot meet the Communist needling by merely being against what they are for. We can-

not afford to leave it to the Communists to define and articulate our problems and to assume the leadership in social action. On the other hand, let those who are responsible for retarding the march of social progress by opposing a comprehensive program of social security and civil rights earn their ignoble victory if they must; but let us not hand it to them on a silver platter. Is there any reason why the agents of a foreign power should, by our own default, become the only champions of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? I think there is not; but this puts a grave responsibility upon professional social workers and others who represent the policy-makers in their respective communities and organizations.

The United States has an unprecedented power, and despite the dissipation of some of our potential for moral leadership by our frequent failure to live up to our own creed and by our support in many parts of the world of regimes that can scarcely be identified with democratic ideals and practices, we can, nevertheless, still exercise the leading influence upon the choices of the masses of the peoples of the world. We can do so by making America a more powerful and a more unequivocal symbol of the democratic ideal.

The function of social work has always been the enhancement and equalization of opportunity and the integration of all people into a common society and a common humanity. In this high calling social work necessarily treads on what some powerful individuals and groups conceive to be their vital interests. It must take sides in controversial issues, since all the issues that matter are controversial. Social workers and those who have as their mission in life the improvement of the welfare of all our people might as well recognize that they are in a dangerous occupation. If it is not their business to take the lead in the articulation of the social goals and the guidance of the organized effort to achieve these goals, it is nobody's business.

No other group has the same knowledge of the needs and potentialities of men. No other group has the requisite skills to meet these needs and to develop these potentialities. Between uncontrolled indignation and fatalistic resignation there lies a vast realm of morally activated, rationally pursued, and technologically implemented planning for the improvement of the human lot on earth. That is

the road we must travel. We do not welcome the easy solution of coercion on the one hand and submission on the other.

Social workers have never had much power. Only rarely has a social worker like the late Harry Hopkins appeared in the role of counselor of men in high places. But they have often had the role of intellectual and moral catalytic agents. They can and must articulate the ideals of the community and they must be the community's conscience. As a famous American, Carl Schurz, once said, "Ideals are like the stars. We never reach them; but like the mariner of the sea we guide our course by them." What are the social workers waiting for? Whom are the social workers waiting for to lead the procession in the quest for human significance?

Civil Rights versus Civil Strife

By BENJAMIN E. YOUNGDAHL

ACCURATELY, civil rights are indivisible; there is no middle ground. We have them or we do not have them. The slightest "give" or deviation precludes the enjoyment of the whole right and may be worse than its entire denial. The Supreme Court, in May of 1949, unfurled the banner to the free winds in its decision on free speech:

The vitality of civil and political institutions in our society depends on free discussion . . . a function of free speech under our system of government is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, and even stirs people to anger.

The current scene is a study in contrasts. During the last several years there has been a tug of war between forces that would enlarge the civil rights of people and those that would curtail these rights. On the facilitative side, we see many notable gains. We have had the publication of a government report that might someday, in historical perspective, be considered one of our greatest documents. "To Secure These Rights; the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights" is not just another report; it is an epic. On the larger scene we have the equally important International Bill of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris in December of 1948.

Several of our states and cities have adopted so-called "civil rights" statutes and ordinances that would give equal public accommodations to all people and that would guarantee other liberties. But it is the court decisions of the last several years that have brought most of the gains. The Supreme Court decision outlawing restrictive housing covenants will, in the long run, have a far greater effect than most people realize. Other important decisions by the United States Supreme Court and by other courts have given wider

educational opportunities for Negroes, and have maintained and supported the freedom of the press. The line has at least been held in relation to voting privileges, and the Supreme Court decision on free speech is extremely significant.

The idea of integration of the races in industry, in education, in public services, in the military forces, and in other fields is being more accepted and practiced. In fact, in one sense, the advances that have been made are so startling and significant, particularly with respect to minority rights, that some folks are saying that we are entering a second period of emancipation.

Despite the broad and rosy picture that could be painted, with the advances that have been made in the last several years in expanding civil rights and in making them more effective, the negative side of the picture partially obscures and even offsets some of the positive gains and causes genuine alarm to those who see the subtle reactions on people and the resulting loss of civil rights. There is an increasing hysteria that could reach mass proportions. The growing abridgment of academic freedom in our schools, restriction of some rights earlier gained in labor relations, the methods used in our so-called "loyalty purges," various forms of censorship of books and magazines, and similar activities, all have resulted in a composite situation that has increased fear and suspicion, distrust and controversy, and, in turn, has decreased freedom of expression, of assembly, of association, and even of thought. The vicious concentric circle grows tighter, more constrictive. The so-called "principle of guilt by association" is not only untenable as a concept in a democracy, but is driving people into subterranean channels rather than aiding our search for the truth. Many employees of schools, of churches, of industry, and of agencies and institutions, fearful that their jobs are at stake, are refusing to express their opinions as citizens or to follow the truth as they see it.

The danger of the present movement to curtail civil rights is a subtle danger and, in its full force, not apparent on the surface. It is a danger that makes free men slaves, that stifles curiosity and inquiry, that inhibits men and women from carrying on normal intellectual pursuits and logical thought.

Archibald MacLeish wrote a poem to the memory of Laurence Duggan that reads in part:

God help that country by informers fed
Where fear corrupts and where suspicion's spread,
By lies and libels, even to the dead. . . .

God help that country, cankered deep by doubt,
Where honest men, by scandals turned about,
See honor murdered and will not speak out:¹

The history of this great country and of this great people has revealed tremendous accomplishment materially and spiritually. It is important to note that this accomplishment has been due in no small measure to the fact that we have protected the rights that we so seriously put into our Constitution. Our inventions and our discoveries of things and of ideas have come about, in part, at least, because men have dared to be different and have dared to disagree, because men have dared to suggest new ideas even though they were radically different from the prevalent viewpoint and thinking. When free public education was first suggested it was shouted down as being radical and unbecoming. When the courageous souls who first dared to suggest the progressive income tax attempted to give information to the public, they were shouted down with name-calling. Regulation of the railroads, our antitrust laws, Federal aid for social services, are only a few examples of accomplishment which, when they were first suggested, were considered improper, idealistic, unrealistic, and radical. These and many more of our commonly accepted institutions and practices might not now be in existence had we threatened penalty to people who exercised their right to speak. Only in the presence of free inquiry, and free expression, and free assembly, and a free press can we expect to get new ideas and to make progress.

When Provost Paul H. Buck, of Harvard University, introduced Henry Wallace to a university audience in the fall of 1947, he prefaced his introduction with these remarks:

I do not know what Mr. Wallace will say tonight—whether it is heresy or orthodoxy, error or truth. I have a notion that I am going to disagree

¹ Archibald MacLeish, "The Black Day," quoted with the permission of the author.

vehemently with what he has to say. . . . But what Mr. Wallace or any man who at the moment may be in a minority—popular or unpopular—has to say is not so important as that his right to express his views is respected—and that the right of Harvard students to hear these divergent views is also respected.

The greatness of America may be due in part to our natural resources, industrial genius, transportation, and other similar factors. But I repeat: America would not be great today were it not for the freedom of thought, of expression, of movement, and of association, that has been our heritage.

In the words of Thomas Jefferson, it is true that,

In every country where man is free to think and speak, differences of opinion will arise from differences of perception, and the imperfection of reason; that these differences when permitted, as in this happy country, to purify themselves by free discussion, are but as passing clouds overspreading our land transiently and leaving our horizon more bright and serene.²

Today, we are proud of the fact that our country is taking a bold world leadership. We are proud of our democratic principles. But democracy is something that does not exist in a vacuum or by itself; it is something that is more than bones and sinew. In order to have any meaning it must be vitalized by flesh and blood, by convictions and actions, by actual practice. Despite the fact that we have assumed significant leadership throughout the world in advancing certain fundamental ethical concepts—concepts that we owe to leaders of creative thought throughout the world in all ages—and in this significant leadership we have been motivated by some sense of right and justice and freedom, it must be admitted sadly that our world leadership position is materially weakened by decay spots in our social behavior and in some of our social institutions. We have seen the spectacle of perhaps the greatest deliberative body in the world, the United States Senate, being tied up for weeks by a tradition of procedure used for ill-begotten purposes by a small group of willful, stubborn, provincial members of that august body. Our leadership is weakened throughout the world when on the one hand we give aid and succor to defenseless and needy people, and

² From a letter to Benjamin Waring, 1801.

on the other we subtly support the crumbling concepts of colonial imperialism. Our power as a world leader is lessened when we make friends or make common cause with certain totalitarian leaders only to fight others of similar stripe. Within the borders of our own sovereignty, our cause throughout the world certainly is not strengthened by the inconsistencies, the procrastination, and our seeming inability to give to our own nationals the basic civil rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

If we could go before the world with clean hands, we would not have to worry about the propaganda efforts of the enemies of democracy, for freedom itself can stand on its own, and produces such strength, power, virility, and contentment that people everywhere would look on us and our system as something to be desired and something to be sought. There could be developed a rivalry in excellence rather than a rivalry in arms.

The *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* in the fall of 1947 editorialized under the title "Truth through Freedom." I quote excerpts:

This country badly needs the confidence in "venturesome, bold, imaginative thought" which Provost Buck cogently expressed at the Wallace meeting on Soldiers Field.

The special significance of Mr. Buck's address was in his refusal to limit intellectual freedom to the classroom. Education is bigger than a lecture hall. Students do not learn only from professions. They are wise in seeking contacts with all sorts of leaders in the world outside, including some with whose ideas the authorities vigorously disagree.

In the world outside they will meet much more insidious advocates. Only through exposure during education to all sorts of doctrines, sound and fallacious, will they become trained to appraise the validity of what is presented to them after they graduate.

Any attempt to sterilize their minds in college would leave them easy victims to the germs unavoidably encountered in the world outside.

This type of tolerance is one reason why Harvard University is a great institution. Incidentally, the same freedom in social work would increase its stature.

The concern around the world, the issue of great moment to this generation and to those of the future, is the present struggle between the East and the West, or, more specifically, between Russia and the United States. The catastrophic results of failure to resolve

this conflict are so horrible that nothing must stand in the way of all efforts toward solution.

If we can make our own situation invulnerable, with respect to civil liberties and decent human rights for people, it can only prove helpful in resolving the conflict. If we correct our own faults we give Russia less of an opportunity to condemn us. We can prevail over another system only by perfecting our own.

If we in social work, for example, can be completely consistent in our own practices and procedures with respect to civil rights, we can increase public respect for our profession and increase the impact of our significance. To be sure, while we are in the process of making some of the changes, there will be those who will challenge us and who will fight us, but our challenge is to take the leadership and to get our own house in order as a first step.

A consistent approach down the line of civil liberties in this country will do more to eliminate the menace of communism of the totalitarian type than all the "anti" laws a Congress could pass in a dozen Congressional sessions. The way to get rid of an evil is to smoke it out, deprive it of the advantage of undercover operations. I have enough conviction in the power, and the strength, and the validity of democracy to believe that if it is actually practiced in word and spirit, it will prevail out of its own inherent superiority as best meeting the various needs of man. I am thinking of democracy and civil liberties (and they go together) not only in our political life, but also in our economic life. However, I have conviction that were we to have complete and unadulterated political democracy with participation by the large masses of our citizenry, the principles of democracy would soon find their way throughout our economic fabric.

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As we discuss civil liberties and the great struggle between the East and the West, we are not unaware that wolves are sometimes found in sheep's clothing, and that as a result issues are beclouded. To condemn as "communistic" the efforts to maintain civil liberties and secure other social reforms is as untenable and vicious as are the efforts of some Communists to confuse the real issues of civil liberties. I say "A pox on both your houses."

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Sometimes the undemocratic spirit lives and works in houses of

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dignity and respectability. Very strange bedfellows, indeed, are found in these confusing times. People have been known to use the privilege of freedom to fight freedom, and in the resultant confusion lies one of the greatest tragedies of our time. Instances are not unknown where great souls are found to be denying and working against the very principles for which they think they are exerting the effort. So ingenious and subtle are the ways of the undemocratic segments of our population! And so confused are the real and the apparent issues!

Freedom of thought, freely expressed, is the only avenue that leads to the solution of our problems. When force or compulsion or fear creeps into any group, that group is caught in an ebbing tide. Human purges of one kind or another are not compatible with either justice or the democratic process. Moreover, a fascistic spirit in the name of democracy is more vicious and insidious than avowed fascism itself. The more subtle the manipulations of groups that use the democratic structure for their undemocratic purposes the greater the danger to democracy itself. Freedom of thought and expression must be maintained and upheld for everybody at all costs, but in our efforts to main these basic rights, there is a risk that we shall blindfold ourselves to the incipient dangers involved when a nondemocratic group attempts to carry out its purposes through the use of democratic names and trade-marks.

Social work, more than any other profession, perhaps, bases its whole practice and philosophy on the individual rights of people: the right of self-determination, the right of free association and movement, the right of free expression and freedom of choice. The personal integrity of the individual is fundamental to social work practice whatever the specialization and whatever the differences in ideology otherwise. If there is one thing on which social work is agreed, it is that the integrity of a human personality must be protected and that on that basis alone can we as social workers be helpful or provide genuine service to people.

The profession of social work is endowed with special skills and insight that have a bearing on the maintenance of civil rights. In the first place, our basic attitudes toward people, our objectivity, and our recognition of the value of the integrity of each personality

place a special obligation on us to take a position and to be helpful.

In the second place, there is our knowledge of the social and psychological disciplines upon which our own is based. We know what happens to people who are deprived of common decencies accorded others.

In the third place, we have special skills in the methods we call "social group work" and "casework," which give us an ability to work with people and to be helpful to them—that, indeed, is our stock in trade.

In the fourth place, and most important, our skill in organizing a community for action, in mobilizing community resources, in interpretation of problems to a community, heads the list. We call it "organization for social welfare" and we should be unwilling to take a back seat to anyone or to any group in the effective use of our skill.

The combination of these skills, insights, attitudes, and motivations places a heavy responsibility on our profession. This is a responsibility so clear and weighty that unless our course is well charted and our conscience clear, and our convictions strong and well grounded, we risk being traitors to our own cause and to the cause of rights of people we profess to defend.

A loyalty purge that declares a person neither innocent nor guilty of legal violation may condemn him to a life of impotence and deny him the very "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" about which we so glibly speak. Unequal educational opportunity because of the color of skin is so patently a violation of everything on which our profession is based, that failure to make every possible effort to bring change and to treat people as people makes hypocrites of us. A university investigation of political, economic, religious, or other beliefs—I say *beliefs*—in itself has the effect of curtailing the basic right of carrying forward the search for truth wherever it may lead.

But let us get away from generalities and get down to practices in social work. We have an obligation to analyze our own situation and to take a look at our own practices as individuals, as agencies, and as a profession. Before we can determine how we as social workers can use our special skills and insights to help resolve some of the conflicts involving civil rights, we need to examine our own

conscience. All of us, perhaps, at one time or another have been willing to compromise some of the basic principles to which we give lip service, frequently failing to recognize the necessity of taking active leadership in this area and of performing our function to promote through practice the principles and cause which we espouse. Example is far more powerful than precept, and when we, who have such an interest and stake in these problems, compromise our position, we make it easy for those who are uninterested, lukewarm, or opposed, to justify their actions.

As the American Association of Social Workers statement on civil rights says:

The social worker's responsibility begins with an examination of his own attitudes and actions. He should believe in and within the limits of his ability take action to safeguard the fundamental rights of all men, whether or not they happen to be enforceable at law. He should be willing to risk criticism, and perhaps disciplinary action on the part of un-democratic persons in positions of authority, in order to defend such rights for himself, as well as others, when they are abridged by individual organizations and agencies.

I should like to be fairly specific and set forth a series of case situations in the social work profession. They represent in one form or another violations of fundamental rights of people—violations in which social workers themselves have participated as offenders or supporters. This is an effort to be very frank with ourselves and to take stock of some of our own practices. Most of the illustrative material is taken from situations I know something about either through first-hand observation or knowledge or through recorded material. Names, dates, and places are obscured.

It is recognized that a social worker is not always in a position to do what he wants. The important thing is that he knows what he wants and that he is constantly striving to the utmost to realize his goals. The criticism is that too often we do the temporizing and the compromising enthusiastically rather than regretfully.

Case 1.—Here is an individual who directs a city department of public welfare. The department is under some pressure because of its relatively large expenditures in the public assistance programs. His previous convictions apparently turning handsprings and

somersaults, the director of public welfare proclaims, through the press and otherwise, that this business of "right in public assistance" is all poppycock, a concept that the Federal Government is trying to impose on the states. He actually advocates disclosure to the public of the names of recipients of assistance. In various ways he works in collusion with the press to undermine the very programs he administers and to undermine fundamental rights of people who may be eligible to receive the benefits of the program.

A recipient of public assistance is still a citizen and a person with all the rights and dignity given to all people in our democracy. Anyone who has studied the problem, even though he has not had a course in a school of social work, knows that the old method of depriving an individual of certain rights of citizenship upon receipt of public assistance not only does not build him up or rehabilitate him, but actually might well be the cause of social and personal breakdown. The current dangers or uncertainty of civil liberties in general re-emphasize the responsibility that public welfare agencies have in maintaining the basic rights of people. The institution of the fair hearings procedure in the 1935 Social Security Act was the dawn of a new day in public assistance. We have an obligation to broaden the application of that concept and to administer it in the spirit of democracy and of the profession to which we belong. Public assistance must not be used as a club to circumscribe a person's civil rights.

Case 2.—There is the case of the state welfare department which two months prior to the meeting of the state legislature sent a memorandum to all its employees in which it stated quite bluntly not only that these workers may not suggest legislation or changes in legislation to citizen groups or to others, but that they may not even discuss legislation with those outside the office. Within several days a teacher in a school of social work in that state received a half-dozen letters, most of them anonymous, complaining about this obvious denial of free speech. The anonymity of the letters alone is evidence of the fear situation in that state. In essence, the regulation went so far as to make it impossible for a visitor in a rural county welfare office to answer questions that might be posed to her by the local legislator in her community.

Not only is this type of action a denial of rights, but it is silly nonsense even in relation to the goals of the state administrator. What greater resource for the promotion of wanted legislation can there be than the employees of a great state public welfare agency, scattered throughout the entire commonwealth! Who can better interpret the problems involved? Obviously, there are techniques to merge the thinking of such a group and to concentrate on certain specific action. But the point I am trying to make is that the denial of the rights of any citizen, whether or not he is an employee of a state public welfare department, is untenable in a democracy. Such an action by a professional social worker casts a heavy doubt on our yardsticks for choosing members of our profession.

Case 3.—There is the case of a state welfare administrator who wondered whether an old age assistance applicant was eligible, because he belonged to a political party which, though legal, is suspect by many American people. As if political affiliation or political belief had anything to do with need or eligibility in this instance! Woe unto public welfare administrators when religion or political beliefs or similar factors become yardsticks to determine eligibility in a public assistance program. Once the line is shaded even slightly, the whole battle is lost, and public assistance reverts to the moralistic program that characterized poor relief some generations back.

The letter that this state administrator received from his counselor was exact and to the point. "There is nothing in the law which makes political affiliation a factor of eligibility in the old age assistance program."

One should not be deprived of his rights as a citizen merely because he is a recipient of public assistance.

Case 4.—There is the case of the school of social work—and my own school has been vulnerable on this point up to now—that inquires concerning religion and race on its application form. It is true that it is more difficult to administer a school or to administer the application procedure without this information, but do we have enough conviction in this matter of civil rights to be willing to assume some of the costs that usually accompany change or progress? This information may be necessary, but it can be secured after the decision has been made concerning admission. Here we are

again not in the vanguard of a movement, but rather as reluctant followers. Some states already have legislation prohibiting the use of such items as "race" and "religion" on application forms. In social work we should have taken the leadership.

Case 5.—There is the case of the private agency that refuses to accept the wife of a conscientious objector. The client's need and the agency's ability to give service had no relationship to the beliefs of the applicant. Instead of making the decision herself, the executive of the agency presented the case to the board, where it was immediately turned down. The very fact that it was presented to the board was damaging to the cause of civil rights, because, by implication at least, the board members could assume that the professional executive took a moralistic and arbitrary position rather than one of giving service to people in need.

A private agency has the power to select its cases and control its intake, and that is as it should be. But when such an agency turns down an applicant for reasons not related to the intake policies laid down, one can but suspect that a person is being denied a service merely because of his beliefs or his color. Even though no legal compulsion is possible, the moral responsibility and the professional culpability of the worker and the agency are at least equal to those of the public agency when it commits a similar act.

Case 6.—There is the case—and a very recent one—of a white supervisor in a local public welfare agency who wanted to give a Negro worker a white student trainee. A plan was worked out, but when it came to the attention of the state public welfare administrator, the county director was ordered not only not to pursue the plan and to forget about it, but not to raise such questions that might be controversial. He and his staff were ordered to keep the matter a secret so that free public discussion would not be stimulated.

It is bad enough to have a situation where a director who wants to do the right thing is not in a position to do so because of factors beyond his control, but it is distinctly unprofessional, unethical, for a professional person not to do everything within his power and judgment to pursue the desired goal. The offense becomes almost

heinous when this same director stifles discussion of the problem even among his own professional people.

This represents a double violation of civil liberties: first, a violation of the right of equal opportunity; and secondly, a violation of the right of free speech.

Case 7.—There is the case of the state public welfare agency that operates under a merit system. In the usual list of three top names the numer one person both in the written and in the oral examinations is a Negro. The job is a supervisory one, and the state agency consistently refuses to employ the Negro, taking instead someone farther down the list. How do we expect employers in industry to give jobs to people on our assistance rolls on the basis of ability and qualifications for the job when we, ourselves, act on the basis of superficial and arbitrary factors?

Case 8.—There is a practice among many social work agencies of singling out and overemphasizing the factor of legal settlement as a basis for service. This is essentially a violation of the basic rights of an American citizen and of a human being to move about as he chooses and to select his own place of residence. Through the leadership of such states as Rhode Island we have made some headway, but the battle is far from won. The famous Supreme Court decision of *Edwards vs. the State of California* is likewise helpful, but quite as much as anything we need more conviction and philosophy among social workers themselves that a person is a human being whether he happens to be born in Providence or Podunk, or whether he has lived most of his life in one or the other. The sooner we get away from artificial barriers of geography and local and state lines, the closer we get toward acceptance in practice of certain basic human rights. What is true of so-called "residence" requirements for clients is equally true of similar requirements for staff. Localism has no place within a framework of freedom and civil liberties. And it has no place in social work!

Case 9.—There is the case of the executive of a private social agency who refuses to permit his staff members to participate in outside or extracurricular activities even though the participation takes the form of citizen participation rather than that of a profes-

sional person. This, of course, denies to staff members the very rights of which we so glibly speak and is a violation, not only of freedom of speech, but of association as well. The act becomes doubly heinous when the interest of the staff member is to participate in an activity that would promote civil liberties. A social worker, no less than a client, does not give up his rights as a person and as a citizen merely because he is associated with a social agency. Such association makes even more incumbent upon him the responsibility to promote actively the cause he represents and the profession of which he is a member.

Tangent ways of circumscribing free speech, such as censorship of papers or speeches in advance of meetings, are equally harmful and damaging to civil rights. It is one thing for an individual to represent an agency, but it is something else for him to speak as himself. As a professional person he would be expected to be circumspect about what he says in relation to the agency's public relations, but the simple fact remains that he does not have the right of free speech if he is denied that right. This is quite as important in private agencies as in public.

Case 10.—Whatever one might think of the functions or place of unions in social work, the right of an individual to join a union is undeniable and unmistakable. The agencies that deny an individual that right are denying a basic civil liberty; the executive who denies this right to his staff members because he is opposed to unions in social work perhaps does not always recognize the consequences of his decision. However much he might be opposed to the concept of unionism in social work, he should fight for the maintenance of this individual right.

If civil liberties have any meaning at all and if free speech means anything, they mean freedom for our opponents as well as for our friends. To deny the right of free speech or of association even to our public enemies during peacetime is to deny that right for ourselves. To assume that a right is a right only when it applies to something we happen to favor is, of course, sheer nonsense.

Case 11.—The practice of censorship has passed its long shadow over our country in the last several years. Books have been burned and magazines taken out of libraries because they were considered

by some to be unfit reading. Some years ago a worker was asked by a social work magazine, not now in existence, to write a statement giving his views as to why a certain political movement was defeated in an election in a particular state. The editor did not agree with the explanation and viewpoints and asked the worker to make changes that would fit the editor's pre-established mental pattern. This was refused, and the article never was published. Here is a case of an editor trying to dictate the opinions of a writer whose name would be signed to the article.

Are we so fearful of our own position that we dare not permit free discussion? Fortunately, the practice is not common in social work, but we must beware lest it creep upon us like a shadow in the night. Expediency always runs the danger of threatening fundamental rights. Censorship, even of the most subtle kind, has no place in social work, and it does not fit into a democratic scheme in peacetime.

Case 12.—As a representative of the profession of social work, I was embarrassed when I learned that the American Sociological Society several years ago decided that it would hold its sessions only in cities that gave full privileges to all its members.

My final case, therefore, involves the National Conference of Social Work itself, and our decision as a Conference to hold our meetings, under certain circumstances, in places that do discriminate on the basis of color. It is recognized that a Conference vote has been taken, but I submit that this entire matter needs re-evaluation by the Conference. Has the time come when we can add our weight to the forces that would once and for all give equal accommodation of food and lodging to our members who come to Conference meetings? Has not the time arrived when the chances for success of such a move are good? Quite possibly, this might mean holding our meetings in two or three cities for several years, but this is a small cost to pay for an eventual victory. If other conferences follow our leadership and that of the American Sociological Society and other organizations, the commercial interests will be quick to see what is happening to their income account.

The cases I have given are, of course, only examples; but they illustrate that we need to do some self-analysis within our own

ranks and that our first step in helping to resolve some of the current conflicts is to clarify and improve our own situation. Obviously, I do not mean to imply that the examples given are characteristic or typical of our profession. They are not. In general, social workers are taking leadership in this area, but the nature of our profession is such that the violation of basic tenets constitutes unprofessional behavior. We do not always have control over a situation, but nothing should prevent us from exerting all possible effort to reach our goals.

Social workers sometimes are reluctant to look at the implications of an ideology. We know that social work cannot be practiced except in a democracy and we know, too, that democracy in effect is nonexistent without the freedoms that are involved in the framework of civil liberties. We as social workers have, then, a selfish interest as well as the interest of a citizen who wants progress and justice and freedom.

How can social work be helpful in the present conflict around civil rights? First, we must put our own house in order and show by example to our fellow citizens that we mean what we say, and that we do what we think. This means that we must review our practices continuously and bear down to effectuate the necessary changes.

Of course, we must be realistic but we must keep pushing ahead. As of any one moment, we can well say with Reinhold Niebuhr, "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change; the courage to change the things I can; and the wisdom to know the difference."

Civil liberties require maturity in those who enjoy them. The individual approaches maturity as he increases his ability to face the reality of his living and the environment in which he lives. Equally, a society approaches maturity as it is able to see the reality of its institutions and the factors of common life that influence happiness and self-realizations of most of its people; and as society makes changes out of its increasingly mature judgment and joint action in the democratic process. The environment, changing as a result of some conscious plan and direction, will be increasingly favorable to the greater maturity of a larger number of individuals in that society.

Social workers, then, must be daring and courageous and active, not only within their own profession, but outside it as well. They have an obligation as individuals to join with other groups in preserving human values and in maintaining civil rights. They have a duty to use their skills and knowledge to advance the cause of human freedom everywhere. The crusade for civil rights is peculiarly one of the responsibilities of social work.

Civil rights are indivisible. Let them not divide.

Social Work and the Public

By RALPH H. BLANCHARD

I AM TEMPTED to reword the title of this paper a bit—instead of “Social Work and the Public,” make it “Social Work *Is* the Public.” As I look at social work and social workers I see three publics, all of which are very important to social welfare:

1. *The consumer public.*—Is there a social worker who has ever been a member of the YMCA—or of the Boy Scouts? Any social worker who ever played in a public park? Went to a clinic? Consulted a children’s worker?

2. *The service or volunteer public.*—Is there a social worker who ever sat on a board? Sweated over a budget review? Made a speech at an annual meeting? Hostessed a party for the United Services Organization? Rolled a bandage for the Red Cross?

3. *The contributing public.*—Is there a social worker who ever signed a Community Chest pledge card? Bought a Girl Scout cookie? Sent some dimes to march with other dimes? Or in a glow of virtue licked TB stamps for his Christmas cards?

Somewhere, a rare spirit, thoroughly insulated from society, may rise up smugly and say: “No, Blanchard, I never did even one of these things.” All right then, let me ask my final question: “Brother, did you ever pay taxes?”

Let us face it—we are social work’s public, or at least a representative slice of it. And we are a large and representative slice of social work too. Anything I may say about that larger public is true of us, too. But if that is so, if we are the public and the public is us, why make a speech about it? Health and welfare activities, which we designate by the general term “social work” or “social welfare,” constitute a vast and growing enterprise—why all the fuss about it? Just look at the facts:

Billions of dollars are being appropriated annually by the various levels of government for health and welfare services to the American people.

Several hundred millions are contributed voluntarily by citizens every year for health and welfare work.

At least a million and a half men and women are devoting their time, energy, and thought to service as volunteers. And certainly more than a hundred thousand professional workers are in it up to their necks, while recent studies show that a vast majority in the total population of typical American communities makes direct use of public or private health and welfare services in any twelve-month period.

So why are we concerned? What is there to worry about?

Well, I shall tell you why I think we are concerned and why we should worry. While social workers are, as I have said, a slice of the public, we are not a very big slice. Moreover, we cannot candidly be called an entirely unbiased part of the public. And even we, exposed as we are to social work, consecrated to its high ideals, devoted in our labors in its behalf—even we, its practitioners and prophets, are confused in our thinking about social work, divided in our loyalties, and inarticulate in our interpretation to that larger public on whose broad and basic understanding and good will the very foundations of social work rest.

With all its great history, its achievements, its potentialities, I believe that today social work rests on a somewhat uneasy base. If this were not so, would there be such bitterness in our legislative halls over health and welfare appropriations? Would community chest campaigns have to struggle so desperately and sometimes so vainly to reach their ever increasing goals? Would there be such a struggle to find competent new volunteer leadership to share the burdens of our saddle-sore veterans?

It is among the general public that the reactions to health and welfare services are most quickly felt. Could it be that the average citizen does not know that he too is a consumer, that he too could be a participant—simply because he sees his role only as a passive one, in which he is beset by social pressures and compulsions of all kinds? At any rate, he is the one who most often and most vociferously condemns the whole institution of social work. "Social work," says he, "coddles people. It robs them of their self-reliance and makes permanent paupers of them." And of the people he con-

siders to be the consumers of social services he says: "They are a worthless lot who would rather loaf than work. And they'll loaf as long as we let them get away with it. It's their own fault if they need help and the way to get them over it is to be tough." All of these and more thoughts, expressed and repressed, are echoed in the daily press and wherever people congregate.

Sometimes, so violent are these reactions that one cannot help but realize the deep feeling of personal injury which is felt and the equal determination to have personal revenge. Always there is the feeling that these outbursts—rooted in ignorance and fear though they may be—are so long-standing and so deep-rooted that one almost despairs of making any impression. But make an impression we must, for neither social work nor any other enterprise can long withstand such reactions on the part of its public. No movement can go forward in its task of meeting human need unless it engenders on the part of people generally a deeper understanding and a warmer sympathy with its basic aims and methods than we seem to have aroused so far in the minds and hearts of the American people, particularly that part of the American people which must foot the bill and which still abhors paying for something it does not understand.

It is not going to do us any good or advance our cause one whit to react in the same way, that is, with emotion and resentment in a spirit of personal injury and with a determination to "catch and punish the rascals." There must be light instead of heat thrown on this subject—and then must come the satisfying experience of doing something about it.

What is behind this negative reaction of the average citizen? I believe that he is suffering from a deep-seated inner conflict in which age-old concepts of religion and honored traditions of democracy seem hopelessly at odds with present-day programs of health and welfare. And I suspect that the conflict centers about two fine and honorable words, one of which is the word "charity."

The man on the street understands what he calls "charity." From time immemorial all the great religions have taught that the care of the poor and handicapped is a responsibility placed on each man's soul. In fact, organized charity was carried on largely under reli-

gious auspices until the Elizabethan poor laws came along, in which the State for the first time grudgingly recognized its responsibility. These laws became the basis of public welfare in the United States, and the letter to some extent and the spirit of them to a great degree are still prominent factors in the health and welfare picture in this country. For under these laws, the poor were responsible for their plight and therefore had to be disciplined. The most effective means of discipline, short of total neglect, was to provide them with less help than they actually needed, in order to maintain pressure on them to get off relief as soon as possible. In other words, helping the poor was a punitive operation.

Side by side with the harsh, inadequate, and punitive poor relief there developed in the United States voluntary agencies, also to provide poor relief, to care for homeless children, and to "do good" generally. These were organized by people of good will to care for the "worthy poor" and were strongly flavored with "Lady Bountiful" attitudes, *noblesse oblige*, and the spirit of "uplifting the submerged."

In spite of basic modifications which have taken place and are still taking place in social welfare philosophy and practice, the taxpayer-contributor still thinks of it as "charity," an instrument solely to care for the hungry, the naked, and the homeless. The concept of social welfare as designed to serve, and actually serving, all the health and welfare needs of all levels in the community is still far from realization in the public mind. The man on the street still sympathizes to a large extent with severe and even punitive treatment of those seeking public assistance. Let any public welfare program come under indignant fire in the newspapers, let a fur coat, no matter how moth-eaten, be reported on the back of any recipient of public assistance, and without waiting for the evidence to come in, a large segment of the public will rise up as a self-appointed jury to bring in a verdict of "guilty." To cry "yellow journalism" or "politics" is a weak defense for a cause that should find its chief defense in unshakable public confidence. But if the public is still viewing social work with Elizabethan eyes, then let us not be surprised if it also tries to mete out an Elizabethan type of justice.

Powerful as the connotations are that surround the word "charity," they are not alone responsible for the narrow concept that the average American has of social welfare. To add to his inner conflict is another good and abused word. It is the word "independence."

The legend lingers that every American is a completely self-sufficient individualist, ever seeking new physical frontiers to conquer, and able to conquer them solely by the work of his own hands and brains. It is a sort of Horatio Alger legend of rags to riches, poor but proud, sink or swim. It fits in neatly with another lingering dream—that of America as a predominantly simple, rural, and pioneer country, which is certainly a far cry from the highly complicated, industrialized, and interdependent society which we know our country to be today. And yet in this dream the American feels that not to rely solely on himself is somehow to be a traitor to the American way of life, that it is almost unpatriotic to assume and plan for great and continuing social services, as if such planning were a prediction of future failure for the country of which he is so proud and which he loves so much. I venture to say that most of us are nagged by this feeling. We *do* want to be independent, to depend on our own brains, our own hands. And yet we live by more hands than we shall ever see, hands on which we depend for the daily necessities of food, clothes, homes, services.

Certainly life in any one of the metropolitan communities in the United States today should quickly convince one of the tremendous degree of interdependence of all elements in our city life. One of the most forceful reminders of this fact was the big New York snow-storm of December, 1947, when groceries, coal, and oil were not delivered, garbage was not collected, and life in the greatest city on earth descended to a very primitive level in a few short hours.

So it is in our economic life. Living in the city, one is no longer the sole controller of his job or even of bare living necessities. Neighborhood and kith-and-kin ties, which were so strong a mere generation ago, are today greatly loosened or even destroyed. Less than one fifth of our people live on farms. The vast majority live in a comparatively few of these complicated, interdependent metropolitan communities where cash savings are the only way to prepare for the "rainy day." And even this plan breaks down in practice.

Recent studies have revealed the fact that only about half of the American families at the bottom income levels are able to accumulate savings, and one third of them spend more than they earn in these times of inflation. These revolutionary changes from old ways of living have affected every phase of our lives—our jobs, our health, our family life, our housing, recreation, old age—no phase is omitted.

Under these circumstances it is small wonder that there are many applicants for assistance and other social and health services, boom times notwithstanding and regardless of the maintenance of traditional American attributes of independence and self-reliance by the people who are involved. For these services are simply meeting human needs and providing securities which were formerly provided by family, by kith and kin and neighbor, and which were bolstered by a rural economy in which cash and luxury goods were scarce but most of the basic necessities of life were abundantly available.

But the man on the street clings stubbornly to his dream, and I think it is one of the chief responsibilities of social work to wake him up. In a nation steeped in the tradition of the frontier, surely we can kindle the minds and spirits of all citizens with the vision of bigger, wider—yes, and more difficult—frontiers than a Daniel Boone ever faced and conquered. "Interdependence" is the key word in modern civilization, among people and communities and among nations, and if you doubt it, I have only to refer you to the North Atlantic Treaty.

As you may have gathered by this time, I do not intend to give extravagant praise to social work. Neither do I wish to give comfort to those with destructive attitudes toward it. Certainly the attitudes I have mentioned are not universal. But there are other concepts of social work abroad today which, if not hostile, are at best negative, and which should be recognized and, if possible, corrected.

And one of them is the "mustard plaster" concept. This is a viewpoint pretty widely held by citizen leaders who have come to accept social welfare services as an inevitable accompaniment to our type of society, as the price we have to pay for progress in our free enterprise system, a sort of compensating mechanism. They have passed beyond the poor law concept, beyond Lady Bountiful. No longer

do they look upon social breakdown as due entirely to inherent weakness in the person himself. And no longer must the individual be punished for that weakness and disciplined out of it. Now it is recognized that causes outside the individual's control can be and are powerful contributing factors to social breakdown. It is recognized that the same society which produces the good life for so many has for its by-products many and difficult human problems. Social and health services are the compensation, in a sense, for the shortcomings of our society.

Of course, this represents a great advance from the concept of social work as a punitive measure. But it too is negative in the sense that it conceives of social work as a palliative—a mustard plaster on the aches and pains of civilization. Under this concept of social work, it is not only the individual who gets emergency treatment; sometimes society itself is snatched from a "fate worse than death." And if you care to think back with me to the dark days of depression before government shouldered its responsibility for health and welfare, if you care to remember the bread lines and soup kitchens and resentful citizens muttering in the public squares, you will see just what I mean.

If, then, we who are the planners, the practitioners of social work, we who are ourselves a part of social work's public, and who have a special responsibility to interpret it to a far larger public—if we reject these older concepts of social work as a punishment, a gift from Lord and Lady Bountiful, or a mustard plaster on the pains of society, what concept do we accept? What are we preaching about social work? And what is more to the point, what are we practicing? I have heard it said that public relations is 90 percent doing the right things and only 10 percent telling about them. But I should say that thinking the right things has to underlie either the doing or the telling.

The right things in this sense would constitute no small and fenced-in concept. It would be a concept of social work as part and parcel of an ongoing, democratic society, a part of our democratic heritage, a symbol of community solidarity, a channel for sharing the common dividends of our society—the hardships and the prosperity, as our good friend George Davidson puts it.

Under this view, social welfare and health services are justified as integral functions of society. They are considered as public utilities, public services, the benefits of which are reaped by all members of society. Implicit in this concept is the conviction that people have a right, for which they have paid as members of the community, to use social services, to get expert help from social workers; a right comparable to the right to have mail delivered, to call a fireman when the house is on fire, to call a policeman when need be.

Those who have understood the positive meaning inherent in the word "charity" will see in this twentieth-century social work the charity of 2,000 years ago brought down to the present with all the constructive tools of today at its disposal and none of the negative and restrictive meanings which have been read into the word over the years. Naturally, this will result in social and humanitarian benefits: those who need the service will receive it. But it will also bring other benefits—economic, for instance, in the sense that purchasing power will be sustained because this kind of program will assist in maintaining all elements in our economic household as healthy units. It will also assist other constructive forces in the community, such as the schools and the churches, for instance, in their efforts to raise the intellectual, moral, and spiritual quality of our living. And, of course, such social services will strengthen our democratic society; for the people will be freed from a host of dangers which, if not met at all, might cause disaster, and if met in a negative or unsound way might result in tragic loss of freedom.

Under this concept social work is concerned with the total life of the individual; or, stated in other words, it is concerned with the art of living. Social work recognizes the individual as a physical, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and economic being and has as its aim the fullest development of these attributes and capacities in an environment which is as satisfying as possible to these elements in the individual. Many other social institutions are at work on these same problems. Social work cannot, of course, do the job by itself. The only way it can do its job is by becoming an integral part of all the social forces playing upon the individual. The total welfare of the individual is the point of orientation. Social work

wants all the advances, social, cultural, and scientific, to be made available to all the people.

May I note in passing that this concept of social work automatically rules out that beautiful thought we still sometimes hear voiced: "The real job of social work is to work itself out of a job." At this point I feel like Winston Churchill: he did not come into office to preside at the obsequies of the British Empire; nor would I care to perform that ceremony for social work. Indeed, only at that somewhat remote date when all the physical necessities of life are met, when everyone is well clothed, housed, and fed, may social work be unshackled to get down to its real business: helping people achieve the fuller life.

The more the public understands social work as an ongoing part of democracy, the more it will understand that it must grow, evolve, and change. That this is not now understood is clearly indicated in the astonishment expressed by people that the need for social and health services should continue and even grow in times of full employment. Such people are not at all surprised that colleges and universities grow, that banks and industries expand, that standards of living are constantly rising. They understand very well that the streamlined, hydromatic, dynaflowing sedan they drive in 1949 is a far different creature from the model "T" they drove in 1920. Such people expect progress in other fields of endeavor and will strain every nerve to keep up with it. But in the field of social work, they seem to think that progress ought to call a halt. And yet much of the social work of 1920 is as out of date as the model "T." Service programs which were barely known in 1920, such as, for instance, mental hygiene clinics, are becoming commonplaces today. But the man on the street does not stop to think about such matters. To him, social work, being concerned with physical need alone, should be at a low ebb in prosperous times. And, engrossed as he always is with his own well-being and survival in the intense competition of to-day, he sees no need for the complex, interrelated program of services offered by health and welfare agencies today; that is, he does not see the need until he himself needs one of these new services—and then it too becomes an everyday necessity.

Nor does he understand why the social services should cost so

much. His mind is still conditioned to social work as a limited service to the economically disadvantaged, not as a social service or utility for all. And so he does not understand why public welfare and health budgets are so high and why community chest goals go up each year. This situation will be corrected only when payments for social and health services, whether public or voluntary, are considered as necessary and ordinary items in the expense of living and doing business. The field of human welfare is a crucial one, and those who are responsible for the management both of our voluntary and our tax-supported social services are learning that the American people can be aroused to a high sense of financial responsibility for such programs if they are properly educated as to the need.

The solutions to all these perplexing problems are not easily found. The problems themselves are of such long standing, the misconceptions and misunderstandings so deeply rooted, that no ready-made answer is either at hand or likely to emerge promptly. The difficulties exist within social work itself and in the relationships between the public and social welfare; and the solutions will also be found in both places.

I am a little irked sometimes at speakers who seem to take a melancholy joy in listing in public all the things that are wrong with social work. They seem to imply that all the great hearts and hands and spirits which have labored in this field have labored in vain; that we who are in it today are wallowing around in some hopeless morass. They often imply, too, that whatever good may have been accomplished was accomplished last year or the year before; before then, darkness prevailed. I will not be a part of any philosophy of frustration and futility.

But I should like to point to a few areas which are most strategic in this business of helping public understanding and strengthening public faith in social work. I did not invent them, nor am I tossing them out as brand-new ideas that never would have occurred to Mary Richmond or Jane Addams; many social workers are already putting them into vigorous practice. Let me mention then, a few steps that we all can take together:

1. Give the public the facts. Let us not expect people to take

social work on faith indefinitely. Let us not blame them for hanging on to old concepts, when we have not convinced them of the validity of new ones. Granted that social work is not an exact science, such as chemistry or physics, it still operates according to basic truths about human beings and the society in which they live. These are the truths which the social researchers are patiently digging out, the statisticians are visualizing in charts and graphs, and which the interpreters can use to tell the story of social needs. Research can be the radar of social work. Community studies and surveys, if made through a representative group of citizens, can be both self-revealing and self-healing. I think we must carry this crusade for facts right down—or up—to those most tender of regions, the finance campaigns and the appropriation committees of legislative bodies. What does the public know about social work? Well, sometimes it knows only what social work tells it at campaign time. And in our attempt to dramatize and humanize our campaign, too often we tell it via the same old story, with the old reliable pull at the heart-strings, of the outstretched hand, the wan widow, the ragged child. Can we blame the public for thinking of health and welfare solely as "relief" when we, by such tactics, imply that it is only relief?

In this search for facts, we will be driven into another sensitive area. We will seek the facts of what the public honestly believes about health and welfare services. Which brings me to my second suggestion:

2. Ask the public's opinion. No manufacturer would dare bring out a commercial product without first testing the public's reaction to it and the use of it. Nor would that product stay long on the market were it not kept accurately on the beam of public use and approval. Can we say the same of all social work today? Public opinion polls, where they have been scientifically conducted, have not always been flattering to social work, as witness facts revealed by recent polls to the effect that 56 percent of people interviewed think giving to needy persons whom they know is more important than giving to agencies; 29 percent think that social workers are too cold-blooded; and 56 percent think that there is too much red tape in welfare agencies. Nevertheless, they have given some much-needed correctives to the eyesight of community planners, and some prac-

tical tools for use by community housekeepers. Public opinion polls, however, cannot be just printed in an annual report and then tucked into the files of the public relations department. They have to be put into action by policy-making bodies, even if they entail drastic changes, and perhaps a few hurt feelings.

3. My third suggestion for the improvement of public relations is for social work to settle jurisdictional disputes. Social work can hardly expect enthusiastic support, financial or otherwise, from the general public except as we show a united front ourselves; for the American public is notoriously uninterested in jurisdictional disputes. If we are honest we must recognize that we still have a long way to go in this respect. All too often does the private agency person say or imply that the tax-supported department is a necessary evil and that real "quality" social work is to be found exclusively in the privately supported organization. Too many times one hears the public welfare employee patronize the private social worker as an expensive luxury having no real effect on the total needs of the people. And in the relationships of volunteer to professional worker, all of us know that the volunteer is sometimes tolerated instead of welcomed as a partner, while as for local-national relationships, anyone who has worked that stony field knows how hard it is to get any appreciable yield in understanding and mutual support.

I am not going to point out the differences between public and private agencies, national and local, nor stake out their respective boundaries. We hear a great deal about the public being confused about which is which, but I believe that their confusion goes deeper than that. They are confused about social services themselves, public and private, national and local. They are not interested in jurisdictional disputes or problems of administration. What they want is services, and they will not quibble too much about the auspices or the administration. Let us then quit taking potshots at each other and unite against the real enemies of social work. And these are many, and active, for social work is not an open door to sweetness and light. It is a social force, and social forces can be pretty uncomfortable. It is a challenge to selfishness and greed. It costs money. It will always have some enemies. But surely the greatest of these are ignorance and apathy on the part of the public. This is true of both

public and private agencies, national and local. For the same type of citizen who cries that adequate public assistance will not be truly American is likely to cry just as loudly that YWCA's, for instance, should not be gay and attractive or they will not be Christian.

What the public should know and feel about social work is above and beyond jurisdictional considerations, and the least we can do is to see that such questions are not allowed to confuse the public mind or divert its interest from the main issue, which is human need and human service.

4. My fourth suggestion for improving public relations is still more basic: Turn democracy loose on social work. To fence democracy in, to clip its wings, and hobble its feet inside social work agencies is a sure way to preserve that old stereotyped conception of social work as a vested interest run by a handful of prominent citizens, most of whom are dressed in striped pants and cutaway coats—and some of whom wear Queen Mary hats. Now this is a silly idea, of course, but the only way to correct that impression is by a thoroughgoing dose of citizen participation in policy making, program planning, and money raising.

Citizen participation is the basic answer to many or all of these questions of public understanding and support. It is something we have talked about a great deal and regarding which we have done too little. And this is bad; for, as a prominent Cleveland layman in social work stated recently: "When we create a system which isolates a citizen from knowing what is happening, we are in danger." The fact that these dangers are present and real is indicated in some of the recent relief investigations where large segments of the public have appeared to be shocked to hear things which should have been common knowledge. Such great gaps of misunderstanding between the citizenry and organized social services can never be wholly closed until the public, or trusted representatives of it, see for themselves how social work operates.

That this problem can be solved was proved by our experience during the war when millions of Americans, formerly indifferent or hostile to social welfare, became ardent and devoted volunteer supporters of our war-expanded programs. The work of our volunteer bureaus both in war and in peacetime is another demonstration

of the progress which can be made in this area, as are also social work's improved relations with organized labor in recent years. As recently as 1942, instances of participation by labor or its representatives in social welfare activities could be numbered by the scores. Now instances of such participation must be numbered by the thousands, and soon it will be by scores of thousands, on agency boards, as members of committees, and in all the volunteer posts known to social agencies, public and private.

The eagerness with which officials of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and other great labor bodies, as well as the rank and file, have coöperated in these developments shows that the American people do want to help make their social services work more effectively. The vastly increased sums which members of organized labor have contributed to social welfare causes in these same years testify to the truth of the old assertion that participation brings understanding, and that where there is understanding, there is support.

With such examples before us, it is not too much to assert that social welfare organizations and departments of government have an obligation to examine critically their basic structures and methods of operation to see if they are prepared to accommodate the active participation of citizen volunteers in their affairs. It is not too much to assert further that unless such examination results in the active participation of far greater numbers of the public in the months and years ahead, social welfare and health enterprises in America are in for hard sledding. Here too, many allies are waiting and anxious to work with us, but the initiative is ours—we must show the way. Certainly this participation is not the special privilege of voluntary or any other kind of agencies. If participation is the lifeblood of democracy, more red corpuscles are needed in the public as well as the private agencies. The more citizen participation, the less fear of the "social welfare State," or even of that other bugaboo of some over-all planning and financing body, some super-colossus of federation that many people dread. A pledge card or a tax receipt is a poor substitute for genuine participation by people.

Participation has to go beyond the individual citizen. It has to extend to every constructive group in the community which shares

social work's goals. All too often the churches or the schools or the unions or industry express, not alone indifference, but genuine hostility to social work, either because we seem to claim exclusive jurisdiction over human problems or because we do not carefully enough seek out these other forces with which to ally ourselves in tackling some difficult problem. These other groups must be made to feel our kinship to them; only when they do feel it will the public realize that the forces for good are working together, not at cross purposes.

To me, one of the most interesting and hopeful aspects of the National Conference of Social Work is the deliberate attempt which social work is making to talk over its problems and concerns with its natural allies—the Church, labor, the schools, industry, and others—not as problems which are outside the jurisdiction of these other groups, but as questions of mutual concern. For these groups must come to think of our positive programs of social work as in tune with their plans and ideals and not as something foreign or hostile. We know that social work runs broad enough and deep enough to appeal to all races, all religions, all economic and political groups in our democratic society, but it is not enough for us to know it—they must know it too, and, even more important, the public must feel it. From such knowledge it is but a short step to the kind of support which we crave and must have from the public.

This brings me to my fifth suggestion, the essence of which is contained in the quotation from Corinthians: "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

5. We must let the public know where we stand. If the public is to understand social work as an ongoing part of democracy, then social work will more and more have to take its stand on important matters of the day on which it is reasonable for it to speak, and on which its experience and knowledge give its voice conviction and authority. Social work will be more and more a molder and not a mere follower of public opinion. Its voice will be listened to with respect if it issues from a group that is genuinely representative of the community, and that knows what it is talking about.

It will avail us little to settle our internal and external relationship problems if we remain divided and confused as to where we

stand on the fundamentals. For the public reacts to confusion by registering more confusion and repays lack of unity by indifference and boredom. It will hardly give us the strong, united support we want and need unless it knows what we stand for and why. Leonard Mayo stressed this point for one particular area of interest in his *Survey* article in which he said: "There is a challenge to social work . . . to increase its awareness of precisely where it stands in the present conflict and confusion regarding the government's role." He reminded us further: "Often we do not appreciate . . . that the opposition to essential health and welfare programs which we meet is frequently an opposition to the extension of government rather than hostility to the programs *per se* or to the people they would serve." And he rightly states that social work can help in resolving this conflict "if it is aware of its position and willing to accept the responsibility for education, negotiation, timing and constructive compromise."¹

It does the cause of social work great harm to ignore such problems as this. Yet a rigid, unyielding approach to them is equally disastrous. Rather our role must be that of the common denominator around which support can invariably be rallied for more and better health and welfare services. Dr. Mayo correctly concludes that "if we can fire the imagination of those whose support is needed and bring about our identification with such needs, we shall find a greater acceptance of government participation and a strengthening of private services as well."

As social work gives its testimony on this and other issues, out of its own rich experience, the public will be enabled to make up its mind more surely and quickly as to what it wants from its social welfare organization, both government and private. For even as America relies increasingly on government for basic social and health services, so does she give simultaneous indication of a real determination to retain the public-private team in this vital field of human welfare as in education and other areas as well.

Social work should also let the public know how it stands on social work itself; that good social work does not pauperize people;

¹ Leonard W. Mayo, "Conflict or Partnership?" *Survey*, LXXXV (February, 1949), 73.

that the vast majority of American people are self-reliant and independent to a degree and that social welfare records prove the truth of these beliefs. We should voice our knowledge and convictions along these and other lines and support them with facts. We should tell the people that we know what good social work administration is and that we propose to supply it; that we know that sound, well-trained personnel is our great need and that we propose to get it; that we do not approve and will not tolerate aims and methods at variance with sound social welfare operating in democratic America—in short, that social work is in complete harmony and not at variance with those who would build an America ever more closely approaching its democratic ideal. Doubt on such fundamental points has hurt social work at times in the past; we cannot afford to have similar doubts harm us and our cause in the future. And as such doubts are cleared away in the minds of the public they are then receptive to entertain our positive ideas as to the needs of the people and what social work proposes to do about them.

6. My sixth suggestion is so commonplace that I hesitate to mention it; so vital that I dare not ignore it. It is just this: we must everlastingly educate. There will always remain a gigantic task of education and interpretation if the public is to understand the need for a well-rounded program of health and welfare services designed to keep people fit for their part in a dynamic, ongoing, democratic society. And here too the job is ours to do. There will be many to help us, allies will be plentiful, but we will have to organize and direct the work.

We will have to use all the new media of communication known to man, plus a great deal of that oldest, and I believe still the most convincing method, face-to-face conversation. It must be done in the simple, warm terms of the man on the street, unhampered by technical plans and uninhibited by the language of experts. The people have given unmistakable evidence of their hunger to know the facts and understand what we can do to meet the need. The least we can do is make every effort to give them the story, simply and frankly, with full confidence that they will understand it and come back with the support which will enable us to do the job of which we are capable.

This we must do together, with all interested parties in full and active participation. In fact, it might be best if all health and social work interests were to signalize their complete unity by so approaching the public under the auspices of that fine planning and co-ordinating agency which they themselves have established—the National Social Welfare Assembly. For the public must feel that all social welfare interests are talking in unison when this mighty effort is made to picture the needs of our people and what can be done to meet them. Such a unified approach would generate irresistible power, and the response of the public would be equally generous and unified. In such a climate and atmosphere, old misunderstandings and misconceptions would be dissipated and the way prepared for us to go on to that much greater period of service which is so clearly our destiny.

My final suggestion is just this: We must have faith in ourselves and what we can do. It is within our power to change negative thinking. Public relations is not a static thing. Its power lies in its ability to change people's thinking, bring about new attitudes. And people's thinking has changed, is changing. We can be proud and humble when we look at the record. Beachheads have been won, through bitter struggle and through patient and faithful plodding.

Juvenile delinquents are no longer branded as hopeless criminals, or treated as such. Unmarried mothers are not "lost souls." Services in the field of health have taken remarkable strides, not only in curing and controlling disease, but in changing people's attitudes, removing fear. One example was noted during the small-pox scare in New York City last year, when over six million people patiently and calmly lined up to be vaccinated, for the public good. Tuberculosis is on the run. Social diseases have been brought out from the dark into the light of free and frank treatment. Mental hygiene is just starting the long pull against the age-old stigma, and mental disease is being recognized and treated for what it is, an ailment, not a shame to be hidden or a cruel joke.

The field of social welfare is one of the critical areas where our democracy will be tested in the period ahead. As the people know, understand, and participate, such proof will come, almost automatically, in the health and well-being of all the people. And there

will be a by-product which may well overshadow even the value of the main product, priceless as that is. For while the effectiveness of citizen participation in matters of common welfare has been demonstrated in our field of endeavor as well as in others, it is also true that this source of potential power in a democracy has barely been tapped. The full tide of this power has not even begun to flow. If we really succeed in unleashing this power to serve our own field of health and welfare, who knows but that we may help show the way to directing that full power in other fields of human endeavor, to the end that democratic America may more nearly achieve that ideal toward which we are all striving.

How Much Social Welfare Can America Afford?

By EVELINE M. BURNS

IT IS A WELL-KNOWN FACT that social workers and those professionally interested in social welfare have the reputation of being idealists. We are accused of demanding a standard of goods and services for all the people of America that is completely fantastic in financial or economic terms. At the same time, whenever two or three social workers are gathered together, discussion sooner or later inevitably turns to questions of finance. The difficulty of reaching goals in community fund drives, the limited appropriations for the public social services, the effect on standards of professional performance of having to make do with inadequate budgets—all of these are among the most common concerns of the profession today. The question we have to consider is whether social welfare experts are indeed unrealistic in seeking to divert a larger proportion of our national income to the purposes and causes they favor.

At this point I must interpose a technical note. The concept of social welfare is in any case a vague one. In what follows, the figures I shall quote will cover our social security programs, our public health and welfare measures as commonly understood, our veterans programs, housing subsidies, and education. Furthermore, my figures will relate to public expenditure only, reliable estimates of private welfare expenditures being almost impossible to obtain. Their absence, however, does not affect the validity of my arguments since they are so small in comparison to public outlays. But their omission does explain, together with my inclusion of education, the difference between my figures and some of those given publicity in the press.

The posing of the question "How much social welfare can Amer-

ica afford?" implies that social welfare is a cost. But it is important to note that there are various meanings of cost and various types of social welfare expenditure. Only one kind of welfare expenditure is purely and simply an economic cost to the nation as a whole, while the other two may indirectly involve economic costs to the nation and certainly involve economic losses for some persons.

To the economist, a direct economic cost to the nation as a whole means that the goods or services in question represent a drain upon our basic economic resources. At any given time the total of goods and services which the American people can enjoy is limited by the volume of the total national output. This in turn, at any given time, is a fixed quantity determined by the available economic resources of man power, capital equipment, and basic raw materials, and by the organizing and inventive ability of our people, including their skill in fully and efficiently employing and using all available resources. It is these differences in total output which account for the wide differences in standards of living of the various countries of the world and enable some peoples to afford levels of living, including social services, which are out of reach of others. It is also changes in these basic resources due to invention, population changes, and the like which make it possible for individual countries to enjoy a rising standard of living, including social services.

Every community, through the way in which individuals and groups spend their money incomes, makes decisions as to the form in which it will take its potential output. One may prefer to put a relatively larger percentage of its basic resources into housing, another may prefer automobiles. But the important fact to remember is that at any given time an increase in the volume of resources devoted to the production of one commodity or service involves a corresponding reduction of resources available for other goods and services, so long as there is full and efficient employment. I shall come back to the situation under less than full employment later.

Some types of welfare expenditure represent a direct economic cost, in this sense. When Congress votes \$75,000,000 or \$150,000,000 for hospital construction, the American people are increasing the proportion of their available labor and other resources to be devoted to this service. If we were to embark upon a large-scale housing

program, or to give more counseling service to families, we should be making a similar economic decision, namely, to influence the form in which we will take part of our national output. But, and this is where the element of basic economic cost enters into the picture, if at the time we make such decisions we are fully employing and using all our economic resources, our decision to have more education or health or counseling services or housing involves also a decision to have less of something else.

If less than full employment prevails—in other words, if there exist idle resources—then it is true that additional social welfare services would not necessarily compete with other types of economic enjoyment, provided their creation led to the use of resources that would otherwise lie idle. This is what happens when expanded public spending designed to offset a decline in private spending during a depression is used for community facilities and similar welfare purposes. During a depression there is a decline in the total national output: fewer goods and services are, in fact, available for enjoyment because resources lie idle. Because of the curious fact that in market terms we do not think of the end products of social welfare agencies as being competitive with the products of private enterprise, we concentrate public spending in a depression on the former. It is for this reason that Professor Alvin H. Hansen and other economists who have feared that private spending and investment habits would not suffice to call forth the full utilization of all our resources have urged an expanded program of public welfare services.

It is also true that sometimes additional service may be secured by making more effective use of existing resources. If, for example, the economic barrier to securing medical care were removed, some part of the increased demand for service would be met by more fully utilizing the time of young doctors, increasing the percentage of bed occupancy, or reaping the economies of group practice. But this does not deny the fact that at any given time with full and efficient employment expanded social services can be secured only by a reduction in other types of good and services.

Not all the various activities included under the term "social welfare," however, involve a new or competitive drain on basic

economic resources. Some of them involve merely a transfer of power to spend. An income security program, for example, does not, in and of itself, involve any additional claim on economic resources. Such measures merely transfer income: some groups within the community can spend more, that is to say, exercise more influence on what kinds of goods and services shall be produced, and others can spend less.

If the programs are financed solely or largely by taxes on workers, we have a horizontal redistribution of income: the young spend less in order that the old can spend more, or the employed give up some of their purchasing power in order that the unemployed can spend income. If some or all of the income security programs are financed out of general taxation, and this, in turn, is progressive in character, then we have a vertical redistribution of income: from the richer to the poorer. This is the situation, for example, in our public assistance programs and, to a lesser extent, in our income security measures for veterans. It is worth noting in passing that interest on our national debt is, from the economic point of view, in the same category, in so far as the bonds are held by Americans. It involves, not a real economic burden, but rather an internal transfer of purchasing power, from the nation as a whole as the debtor to the holders of the national debt who are the creditors, and who are not always the same people as those who pay the taxes.

There are, however, two qualifications to the statement that our income security programs merely represent a transfer of income and involve no real economic cost in the sense in which I have used that term. First, the very fact of making the transfer requires man power. Taxes have to be collected and personnel must be employed and housed to carry through the redistribution process. Such personnel are clearly not available for producing other types of goods and services, and in this degree even an income redistribution is a drain upon scarce resources.

Secondly, and much more important, are the possible repercussions of income redistributions on the basic economic resources of the country; for in a society that relies on economic incentive to get its production done, both the desire to work and the desire to save may be adversely affected by redistributions of income. Taxes may

be so heavy that the worthwhileness of undertaking further economic activity becomes questionable when weighed against the other way of spending one's time, namely, in leisure. Or the balancing of risk-taking against possible losses may be tipped against the former because taxes cut so heavily into possible gains. If this happens, a country may find that its total national output, the central pool out of which all our goods and services must be drawn, will become smaller. If taxation falls heavily on the economic classes that normally do the lion's share of the saving and investing in new sources of income, and if the effect of income redistribution is to increase the proportion of national output devoted to consumption, and correspondingly reduce the production of material or non-material capital equipment, then at best the country will not enjoy in the future a total national output larger than before. At worst, there may even be a decline from current levels. If the effect of income redistribution is to place income in the hands of employable people who, for lack of what we call "education," but which might more accurately be termed "economic greediness," find this sum sufficient for their needs and who are not responsive to prevailing social attitudes, the economic resources of the country may again be reduced. For such people may value additional leisure more than the additional income that could be secured by participation in production.

Social welfare expenditures may be of yet a third type, though the importance of this type is less than that of the two I have already outlined. Such expenditures, it is sometimes said, are merely another way of paying for the same volume of goods and services that would be produced in any case.

This theory that social welfare costs are merely a method of "socializing the cost" calls for careful examination. It is true that, were we to institute a health insurance system, some people would probably merely be paying in a different way for the same volume of service as they previously received. They would be no richer and no poorer, and no more and no less of the country's basic economic resources would be devoted to meeting their needs. Similarly, so long as the nation is unwilling to see people starve to death because they are too old to earn, some part of the money costs of old age

security programs represents, not a new drain on our total output, but merely another way of paying for the maintenance of these people, of paying for an obligation that our society has already assumed. This is an important fact to bear in mind when we are tempted to be appalled at the size of our future old age security commitments. So long as the 20,000,000 aged of the future do not starve to death, the goods and services they are permitted to consume will be a drain on national income that cannot be avoided. Whether the reduction in incomes to permit the nonproducing aged to consume shall be concentrated on their friends and relatives or on those who contribute to private charity, or shall be "socialized" through use of the taxing powers of government—this is admittedly a distributional question. It is not adding to the drains on our basic economic resources.

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But my reference to distribution suggests that we must look again at this "paying for the same service in another way" classification of social welfare expenditures. For closer inspection reveals that part at least of this "socializing of the cost of an existing service" is, in reality, an income redistribution. Thus we may transfer the cost of supporting the aged from their relatives and friends to the general taxpayer. Similarly, if we adopted health insurance, we should, in some measure, be transferring the costs of medical care from some groups of people to others. At the very least, we should be distributing the heavy costs of illness of individuals over the whole group who may be exposed to the risk. Typically, however, a health insurance program does much more than this and actually causes people in the higher income levels to pay part of the health costs of those in the lower brackets.

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If we are frank, too, we must admit that the very process of socializing the cost is apt to lead to the devotion of an increased proportion of our national resources to the service in question. For one of the by-products of socializing the cost is to reveal to us, often for the first time, the total extent of need and the actual standards of service being currently received. And often we do not like what we then see. One of the inevitable by-products of instituting a health insurance program is to reveal the extent of unmet need and, in all countries of which I have knowledge, to lead to a realization that

goods and services sent abroad for which no corresponding flow of goods and services was received. Another \$14,000,000,000 was taken in the form of war or defense goods and services. A total national output of about \$195,000,000,000, therefore, remained to supply all America's domestic consumption needs, her social services, and any increase in material and nonmaterial capital equipment necessary to secure a larger income in the future.

These figures become more meaningful if we express them another way. Assuming for a moment that the economic drain of military preparedness and foreign aid was a fixed item, the people of America in 1947 had at their disposal for current enjoyment or for new investment a little less than \$1,250 of goods and services per head. In fact, they took a little over \$50 a head of it in the form of social welfare goods and services. From one point of view this was a sum they could "easily afford." Even if spending on social welfare were doubled, there would still be a wide margin for other forms of enjoyment. During the war, the American people were able to devote over 40 percent of current output to war purposes without encroaching dangerously on their standard of living. Compared with this, the question whether we can afford to devote from 3 to 4 percent of our total output to an adequate health service seems almost academic. But note that during the war people did have to go without many consumers' durable goods, and they ran down their productive equipment. For every dollar of goods and services taken for social welfare, or for any other specific service, is a dollar taken away from other kinds of enjoyment. And \$1,250 a head, while high in relation to average incomes in other countries, does not give much leeway if at the same time we insist on the maintenance of a decent standard of living for all, and if the income receivers insist on certain luxuries and conveniences over and above the minimum budget.

It is, of course, this \$1,250 worth of goods and services per head which in 1947 set the economic limit to how much social welfare or anything else the country could afford in the basic economic sense. But within this limit which, because of increased productivity, would be slightly higher today than it was in 1947, the question is not one of affording, but of choice. How much of this \$1,250 do

the American people wish to take in the form of the goods and services we loosely define as "social welfare"; how much do they want to take in any other form, whether it be washing machines or foreign holidays, better transport or armament expenditures?

This is not to say that we are in a permanent strait jacket. Obviously, America with her vast wealth should be able to afford to devote, not only a larger absolute amount, but even a higher proportion of her wealth-producing capacity to social welfare than could poorer countries, for we have more leeway. We can provide the level of health or educational or counseling service available in other countries with well-developed social programs, and still leave large, though not unlimited, resources available for meeting the other demands of our people, including their demand to have a certain amount of money to play with in ways that are not necessarily approved of by welfare agencies or government officials. In this sense we are more fortunate than a country like Great Britain, whose level of output, even with foreign aid, is such that a choice has to be made between, for instance, devoting resources to building sorely needed homes, health centers, or new schools, on the one hand, and re-equipping her industries on the other, so that she can survive economically in the future. But even we cannot have everything.

Obviously, too, a country like ours, characterized by a rising trend in national income, can expect in the future to increase its economic enjoyments, including social welfare. Since 1900 the total of goods and services per head has steadily increased even after deducting that part of national income devoted to investment and depreciation and expenditures for the economically costly, as apart from the redistributive, social services. Our problem, and I shall return to this later, is how to capture some of this new wealth for the social services, and how at any given time to persuade the people of America that social welfare should be given a high-priority claim on the available instruments of production.

I see, however, no point in blinking at the fact that in this order of priorities the nation ranks national defense high. Faced with a choice, people are evidently prepared to forego other satisfactions if they believe military preparedness to be essential to survival.

Hence, whatever we may individually believe about the wisdom with which our foreign relations are conducted, I am sure we should be wasting our energies as a profession if we picked on military drains on national income as the items to be cut so as to free resources for social welfare. This is too negative and too easy an escape from our responsibility to do a job in our area where we know what we are talking about, namely, the value of the services we render.

Other priorities are less rigid, though the nation has apparently decided that education, at least elementary and high school education, ranks high in the order of goods and services that it is unwilling to give up. From this viewpoint we must regard the current controversy over health services and health insurance as the fight over an additional priority item. Our job is to persuade the nation that this service should be given a priority claim on basic resources comparable to that now given to military expenditures and education.

Note, furthermore, that attainment of even minimum goals all along the line would involve some measure of income redistribution. The Twentieth Century Fund has estimated that if we were to meet the basic needs of all our people for essentials such as food, clothing, housing, and what our profession would regard as a modest level of social services, together with necessary capital equipment, and the like, we should require in 1950 a national output 13 percent larger in volume than that which we would be likely to produce from our available resources under conditions of high employment. Scrutiny of some of the social welfare items included reveals very modest estimates of need, and, in some instances, history has already falsified some of the other expenditure estimates (e.g., military expenditures were assumed to run \$6,600,000,000 as against an actual \$10,000,000,000-\$14,000,000,000; and foreign aid has greatly increased). But the Fund's balancing of needs against resources assumes that the spending habits of those who now are above the acceptable minimum would remain unchanged. Even today, therefore, our minimum standards could not be met all along the line unless some persons now enjoying more than the minimum

suffered a reduction in spending power, i.e., in economic enjoyments.

I stated earlier that social welfare expenditures may involve the allocation of a larger proportion than formerly of our national resources to certain ends, or result in a redistribution of income, or involve a new way of paying for services formerly received. But, and here we come to the crux of our problem, their effect from the viewpoint of the income receiver is the same. They all involve a cut in his freely disposable income, in what the earner thinks of as his take-home pay. They all cut into that part of his income which he can spend as he pleases and according to his own whims. And social welfare costs are today only one of the items which cut into freely disposable income. In the current year, out of a total Federal budget of \$10,200,000,000, the four largest items were national defense (\$11,700,000,000), international affairs including foreign aid (\$7,200,000,000), veterans services and benefits (\$6,300,000,000), and interest on the debt (\$5,300,000,000). Social welfare, security, education, and housing together amounted to \$2,400,000,000. In all, counting veterans programs, social welfare equaled \$9,200,000,000 of the Federal budget. And even if we do not expand the scope of our social welfare programs, the demands on the Federal taxpayer will increase as our social insurance programs mature and, in particular, as the age composition of the population changes. The effect of this may, however, be counterbalanced in part by the fact that unless the future is very different from the past, national and individual incomes will also increase.

But relatively small as they are in relation to other demands on the taxpayers' income, social welfare costs are also one of the more recent and, therefore, less firmly embedded in the minds of the taxpayers as "must" items. For here again we must never forget that how much freely disposable income people will give up without protest depends primarily on the importance they attach to the purpose for which the money is spent, and that to some degree acceptance of certain types of public spending is a matter of custom. The Britisher under thirty-five who was born into a world in which social security was an accepted function of government is likely to

think of this institution as a "natural" or "normal" feature of social life, in the same way that we in America accept public responsibility for roads or education. I have no doubt that in less than thirty-five years from now the British citizen's attitude to a public health service will be similar. The difficulty is in the transition period: how to get people as a whole convinced that the new service is worth paying taxes for, when they are having to pay taxes for so much else.

The magnitude of the task faced by those who wish to see a larger proportion of our national output devoted to meeting social welfare needs is immeasurably increased when we consider the redistributive aspect of social welfare expenditures. It is hard enough to persuade any individual that he ought happily to accept a cut in his income which prevents him from enjoying some minor luxury on the ground that he will enjoy better health or education or counseling service as a result of his sacrifice. It is much harder to persuade him to accept the cut when the advantage redounds not to him personally but to someone else. Here again, the country with a rising national income is in a better position to decrease the proportion of freely disposable income retained by the individual; for the absolute income left for free spending can still increase even though a larger share of the total is taken by the government for social welfare and other purposes. It is psychologically harder to lower an existing, individually determined standard of living than it is to refrain from spending according to one's own desires a part of an increased income.

But although the richer a country the more leeway it has, in the sense that it can have a high level of social services and many other things as well, there is a sense in which the attaching of social priorities is harder for the rich than for the poor country. For there is much truth in Lord Beveridge's statement that the worse off a country is, the more imperative is it to satisfy the basic elementary needs of all before anyone can enjoy luxuries, at least if the country hopes to remain in any true sense a democracy. If there is not enough for all to have both bread and cake, said Lord Beveridge, then there shall be no cake for anyone till everyone has had bread. When economic resources become sufficiently scarce we all agree to this doctrine. We did so during the war and instituted rationing and price

control, which people accepted so long as they were persuaded that there was indeed such scarcity that some people could enjoy luxuries only if others forewent necessities. But, paradoxically, the farther we move from this state of scarcity, the harder it is to secure agreement on an acceptable measure of equality of access to goods and services: the more resistance there is to giving up part of one's own income for the enjoyment of others.

It may be objected that I am making the task of those who would expand our welfare services seem harder than it is because I am neglecting the possibility of the use of compulsion applied to those in the upper income brackets. The theory that social welfare services should be financed in large measure out of the "social surplus" represented by incomes above a certain level has considerable appeal to those of us who believe in economic democracy, especially, perhaps, if we do not happen to dwell in those exalted income levels. But as a reason for believing that there is no limit to the social services that this country or any country can afford, it is less reliable. For as England, the country which has probably carried this theory to the farthest extent, has found, the surplus is not unlimited. There, even the smallest incomes must be taxed.

In our own country, Federal taxation has so far cut into the larger incomes that in 1945 the Federal Government collected \$6.3 billions from income receivers in the highest brackets (\$10,000 a year and over). The income remaining in their hands amounted to \$10,500,000,000. This sum was, however, less than one eighth of Federal expenditures in that year, and about one fourth of current rates of Federal expenditure. Thus, even if all incomes in excess of \$10,000 had been confiscated, we should still have had to tax persons in the lower groups to meet current Federal expenditures.

But long before the confiscation point is reached, we are likely to find, especially if the redistribution of incomes is carried out too suddenly, that there will be adverse repercussions on the level of national output, through the effect of confiscatory taxation on enterprise. During the last fifteen years we have effected an astonishing change in tax-paying habits. Income and corporation taxes which yielded only \$2,100,000,000 in 1940 produced no less than \$31,000,000,000 in 1948—a tremendous increase even if we allow

for the changing value of money. The married couple earning \$5,000, whose tax was 1.6 percent in 1939, now pays 13 percent to the Federal Government. On incomes of \$25,000 the jump has been from 10 percent to 23 percent. As our Federal income tax was quite progressive even in 1939, the increase at the upper end of the scale is less obvious. Nevertheless, incomes over \$1,000,000 which in 1939 were taxed at 68 percent, now pay at the rate of 77 percent. Note, too, that these figures refer only to direct Federal taxation. They do not include wage and pay-roll taxes, indirect and sales taxes, or the taxes collected by state and local authorities.

From one point of view this remarkable change in our tax-paying habits is encouraging. It at least gives the lie to those who argue that there is a fixed limit to the amount of taxation a people will stand. In fact, of course, people's attitudes to the amount of taxation they will bear without effective political protest do change. Indeed, if it had been possible to make similar comparisons, not with 1939, but with 1929, we should find that the increase in the tax burden had been even more pronounced. At the same time, it does not follow that the process can be continued indefinitely, and the very rapidity of the change in recent years is likely to be followed by a reaction. Moreover, the absolute level of taxation has now reached a point where tax rates begin to exercise some influence upon economic incentive and thus upon the level of national output.

The Committee on Economic Development has pointed out that in an economy such as ours, the influence of taxes on incentive must be sought not so much in the average rate of tax paid at any income level, but in the tax charged on additions to income. Already we have reached a degree of progression in our tax schedule whereby at the \$18,000 level and over, the Federal Government takes more than 50 percent of each additional dollar of income. The psychological effect of the feeling that "the government takes more than half of what I earn" cannot be ignored. For we must never forget that for most people there are more pleasant ways of spending one's time than earning or risk-taking. Nor must we assume that this attitude is confined only to the very wealthy. I have heard plenty of professional people today raise doubts as to the desirability of ad-

ditional hard work when the financial reward, after tax, is so relatively small. And England, which has been forced to dip into the incomes of workers to finance its public commitments for social welfare and other purposes, has found the same attitude expressed by workers who doubt the financial worth-whileness of working overtime. What in England may be a national tragedy in view of the desperate need of that country to increase its total national output is here, at present, a less serious cause for concern, both because our economic plight is not so critical, and because our incentive-threatening rates of taxation do not yet affect so large a proportion of the population. But this does not mean that we can ignore the existence of a real economic limit to heavy taxation at any given time.

What I have been saying comes to this: the amount of social welfare America can afford is, in the last resort, limited by the level of national output. This level even today would undoubtedly suffice to enable us to meet more adequately some of the more glaring of our social deficiencies. But even to do this we should have to cut down on some other forms of economic enjoyment, and if we should seek over the next twenty years to attain the levels of service and adequacy all along the line that are even now deemed "standard" by our profession, we could do so only by cutting these other goods and services to a degree that would be resented and resisted by a large majority of the nation's income-receivers.

Does this, then, mean that we are forced to accept the existing level of social welfare expenditures as a fixed maximum? Obviously not. Precisely because the way in which any community decides to utilize its available productive capacity is a matter of choice, our problem becomes, as I have earlier said, one of persuading the majority of the electorate that the forms in which we would like to see that productive capacity embodied are more worth while than alternative end products.

In this sense, and within the limits of national output, it is true that the amount of social welfare that America can afford is largely a matter of how much social welfare the people of America want, but want, mark you, as compared with other things. It is for us to

persuade the taxpayers and voluntary givers that social welfare expenditures are worth the money or, if you like, the reduction in freely disposable income that they cost.

It is here that I cannot but feel that we who are professionally interested in social welfare have fallen down on the job. Why is it that we have been so unsuccessful in pushing our wares as compared with other producers of goods and services? Not all the reasons are within our control. I am equally sure, however, that we are not blameless. In the first place, to persuade people you must command their confidence. I believe that we have not wholly deserved public confidence. We have been less than frank and, at best, timid, in facing up to the total drain on national resources that would be represented by the full satisfaction of all our high standards. Except possibly in the income maintenance services, it is difficult to obtain even a range of estimates of the money cost of providing for the country as a whole any defined level of service. It is not merely that this unconcern has given us the reputation of being sentimentalists or unrealistic and idle dreamers. More important, because it has a bearing on our way of thinking, failure to face up to the full economic implications of our current demands has caused us to pay less than adequate attention to the relative efficiencies of different ways of meeting any given need.

Examples of this method of thinking are not hard to find. During the last twenty years the social work profession has predominantly stressed individualized treatment. Individualized treatment in certain circumstances and in certain types of case is undoubtedly of vital importance. But to see problems in terms of how they affect individuals is not the same thing as to deal with them on an individualized basis. For in many circumstances the problem of an individual may be solved by mass measures as effectively as by techniques that involve dealing with people on a person-to-person basis. And these mass measures may free scarce personnel for other services where the need for highly trained workers is more urgent.

One of the great contributions of social work has undoubtedly been the appreciation of the effect upon the individual, in our type of society, of having to ask for and accept money. The conclusion has been drawn that since millions of people are so economically

insecure that they have to seek money, the remedy is to use highly trained people to administer a public assistance program with so much technical skill, understanding, and insight that the bitter pill can be coated and rendered more palatable. This use of expensively trained personnel is buttressed by an effort to spread the idea that public assistance is a right, despite the realistic fact that since the typical public assistance law defines with precision neither the level of income to which an individual is entitled nor the specific circumstances in which he can get it, the element of administrative discretion inevitably remains large. Undoubtedly, our public assistance programs have been greatly humanized. But one might wonder why more effort was not devoted to securing broad public support for another method or technique of providing income security, namely, social insurance, which for the vast majority of people would meet need on a basis of legally defined rights, instead of jogging along with an old method which one tries to make palatable despite the facts and which requires much more highly trained personnel for its administration. Or again, one may wonder why a profession concerned with the physical and emotional welfare of individuals has not devoted more of its efforts to supporting a national health service or public housing, instead of trying, against heavy odds, to deal with personal problems or maladjustments whose causes often lie in, or are aggravated by, ill health or poor home environmental conditions. Or one may ask why the profession does not devote more of its trained personnel to elucidating the causes of juvenile delinquency or broken homes, so that the need to deal on a costly individual basis with the symptoms and consequences can be cut to a minimum. As it is, if we were to meet the standards laid down by some of the profession in regard to the personnel required to supervise placement of children in foster homes, selecting the homes, and the like, we should find that we would vastly tax our present limited supply of trained people.

Are we sure that within our own areas of competence we are using the funds at our disposal in the most economical and efficient manner possible? Can we justify, except for educational purposes, the lengthy records kept by so many caseworkers? Are we sure that the expensive teaching technique known as "supervision" is indeed

an economical use of man power when applied to workers who have already had two years of professional training? Do we analyze the work to be done in social welfare administration by reference to degrees of training and skill required, so that we never use an expensively trained person for a job that could be adequately performed by less fully trained persons? Do we make full and effective use of auxiliary personnel or volunteer workers? Do we really have any idea of the costs of the services we render, or do we expect the public to take us on trust? Have we ever compared the time we spend in committees and conferences, both formal and informal, with the time we actually spend on direct service to clients, on doing the job we are paid to do? Have we ever computed the money cost of this widespread type of professional self-indulgence and asked ourselves whether we can justify so tremendous an expenditure of other people's money, in terms of better service? Do we, indeed, ever take the first step toward accountability and define the services we claim to be providing? Can we afford to remain indifferent to the differing economic and social effects of the various types of taxes that are levied to support our services? Are we sure that they are being financed in the most appropriate ways?

In short, I believe that since resources are limited, we have a responsibility at all times to ask ourselves whether, in view of the vast area of unmet need, we are selecting the most appropriate techniques for dealing with any given problem, and whether we are using scarce resources and personnel in the most effective manner.

But if we are to be successful in persuading taxpayers and voluntary contributors that our programs are worth the money they cost, we must go even farther than convincing them that we are at all times utilizing the most promising techniques, working for prevention rather than patching up, and economical in our use of expensively trained (I will not say highly remunerated) personnel. Once we grasp the essential truth in the concept of the limited size of the national income and the resulting fact that social welfare expenditures must compete with all other possible end products and claims upon personal income, we can see that statesmanship requires us also to have our own scale of priorities. While I believe it to be true that the trend of the times is with us, in that regardless of what we

do as a profession we shall see in our lifetime an expansion of the social services, that expansion will probably not come in great waves, barring a national emergency. And it will certainly be uneven and spotty. Our profession, if any, should be taking the lead in establishing priorities within the field of social welfare. At the present time those of us who favor expansion of our social programs are apt not to be very discriminating in our support. We are, as the public so often charges, in favor of everything that is good. We give little indication of what, given the probability that we shall not get everything we want, would be best. We lack our own sense of relative values and priorities. We do not distinguish, in Beveridge's terms, between bread and cake. As a result, neither the taxpayer nor the voluntary giver receives much guidance in the difficult task of differentiating between the more and the less urgent needs.

It may be objected that I am adopting a defeatist attitude even to suggest that we shall not in any year get all that we demand. It will be said that unless we continue to press for more social services wherever they seem to us required, we shall make no progress at all. This is, of course, an arguable point. Yet the financial difficulty that private welfare is currently experiencing, the skepticism with which new drives and demands for funds are greeted, suggest that the citizen has been given a too easy way out of what is, in any case, a painful decision. Faced with a plethora of requests to make still further inroads into his freely disposable income, he tends to evaluate the total demand by reference to what he regards as the marginal programs included in the total, or else to give funds to the most raucous or shocking voice that reaches his ears. If we accept the reality that the total of funds, public and private, devoted to social welfare still falls short of what we need, I do not see how we, as a profession, can remain indifferent to the possibility that some part of what is given is utilized for submarginal objectives. We have, I insist, a responsibility to indicate priorities on the basis of our special knowledge of outstanding social needs.

Should we not be the first in our communities to draw attention to the low-priority rating of some of the purposes to which available voluntary funds are devoted? Given the difficulty—note, I do not say the impossibility—of extracting further funds from the tax-

payer, should our collective voice not be raised in protest against the ever increasing liberality of our veterans programs, at least so far as pensions for nonservice-connected deaths and disabilities are concerned? How vigorous have we been in getting the public to see that failure to extend coverage and liberalize benefits of the Old Age and Survivors Insurance program is threatening the entire future of the institution of social insurance? Have we, as leaders of opinion in the welfare field, been prepared to say: "If money is the difficulty, not a cent more for public assistance until something has been done about social insurance"? What have we done to convince the American people that health is a Number one priority, and that whether it be through social insurance or socialized medicine or some other technique, government's responsibility to insure a minimum standard of health for the American people is second only to its responsibility to assure them protection against enemy attack?

From this point of view it seems to me that we make very poor use of the National Conference of Social Work. Once a year we meet in our thousands, and with all our leaders and best minds, and have available to us the press services of the entire nation. What use do we make of this magnificent opportunity to offer social policy leadership to the nation, speaking in the name of the profession as a whole? I believe that an interested but impartial observer, studying our programs and attendance at meetings, would conclude that we have no clear philosophy as to the function of the Conference. Rather do we seem to be pursuing three not wholly consistent objectives. First, the greater proportion of our meetings and attendances is devoted to professional advancement. We have meetings on methods, skills, and techniques. Even here our outlook is narrow, for we make little use of the opportunity to learn from our colleagues in other countries about new and imaginative approaches to common social problems. Secondly, we gather together for mutual encouragement and support. A much smaller proportion of our meetings is devoted to this purpose, but we do take the occasion to tell one another, en masse, that the things we are doing and believing in are tremendously worth while. Thirdly, and to a very limited degree, we grapple with the main needs and problems

facing the nation in the field of social welfare as a whole—the problems of social policy that beset the citizen on every side, and where he seeks informed guidance.

If we are predominantly interested in perfecting professional techniques we do not need national press coverage. Nor, I suspect, since we are all able to read, do we need such enormous gatherings. Our encouragement and moral support meetings could have some value for public education and justify some publicity. But what do we offer the public in the third area, which is the one which seems to me to be the primary justification for so widely publicized and so large a gathering? What would the public think of our sense of social priorities if it knew that meetings devoted to two of the leading concerns of American families at the present time—the economic cost and welfare of children and the future of our health services—and addressed by the outstanding authorities in the field, each drew an audience of less than 125 in a conference attended by more than four thousand social workers?

This question of the purpose of the Conference is intimately related to our central problem of how to persuade the people of America that social welfare is worth paying for. I should like to see our own National Conference used much more than it now is for the purpose of determining and highlighting priorities. I should like us as a Conference each year to attempt to answer the question: "Assuming that X billion dollars will be devoted to social welfare in the year ahead, what would be the most effective ways of spending it?" Would it be on housing or education or health or casework services? Would we aim to do an intensive job for a relatively small number of people, or would we aim at a minimum level of performance for all, before dealing intensively with the few? The answers would not be easy to arrive at: frankly facing the question would need courage. It would involve the collection of much more information than we now have available as to what the community gets for the money we spend. We should need to arm ourselves with much more factual information about the actual cost in terms of human and material resources and of money income, of reaching any given level of performance in any area of social welfare.

But even tentative answers would be an advance on our present

undiscriminating demands, and the realization of the gaps in our knowledge would stimulate us, as a profession, to foster more research, that essential tool which Ralph H. Blanchard has so happily referred to as "the radar of social work." Thus, we might more nearly live up to the position we now claim for ourselves as a Conference, namely, of being, and I quote from the *Conference Bulletin*, "a dynamic educational forum program for the critical examination of the basic social welfare problems and issues." I am convinced, too, that such an attempt to come to grips with the economic and social realities of our time would make more meaningful that vague concept to which we all give such frequent lip service —the philosophy of social work.

Unique Possibilities of the Melting Pot

By MARGARET MEAD

I WANT TO DISCUSS what is necessary for us as Americans to know about ourselves if we are going to be able to judge accurately what we can do in the world, if we are going to be able to tell where we stand in the whole world picture and what inventions we are better able to make than other people because world trends have gone farther in this country than in other countries. If we know these things accurately we must know where we are ahead, where we are coping with something that other people may not have to cope with for twenty years, maybe for forty, when we ourselves will be somewhere else. Only if we are quite clear about the relationship between our problems and the world's will we be able to make a good contribution to the world. On the other hand, if we are awfully impressed with the fact that we eat three meals a day and go about the world trying to get everybody else to eat three meals also, we can do a great deal of harm. Perhaps social work is one of the fields in which it is most crucial that Americans should understand who they are and where they are; because social work is so much more advanced in this country than in most parts of the world, inevitably it will make a large contribution to any sort of international development in social work.

There are a great many things that could be said about our position, but I shall choose just a few. We are further along than any other country in the experiment of mingling all the races of the world. We are the only sizable country that has large contingents of all three races, all living together, all being educated the same way. We are perfecting an enormous number of inventions every day that will make these people look more alike, we are curling the straight hair and straightening the curly, using cosmetics to "widen" the narrow cheek bones and "narrow" the wide ones.

What have we learned in the course of our experiments in ignoring—or at least beginning to ignore—physical differences that have no psychological or social meaning except what we give them? First, we have perfected some inventions for the rest of the human race; for in this country, now that everybody is trying to look like the national stereotype, beauty has become what one makes it oneself instead of that with which one was born. We say less often, "What a beautiful girl." We say, "She makes the most of her possibilities." (And social casework records are filled with descriptions of how the little client puts on cosmetics. The first time I read a case record that approved of the client's beginning to use rouge I knew that something momentous had happened.) We have done a great deal with the experiment of taking people of enormously different physiques, washing them all with special soap, putting them all in well-ventilated rooms, after they have slept in laundered and sterilized sheets—building sanitation to a level that it has never reached in the world before. Most peoples in the world like smelling the better class of their own people, they do not like smelling any other class or any other people. And so Americans have had to cease to smell like any class or any nationality. And we have done it; that is, we are on our way to doing it, we are moving in that general direction. No other country has tried any comparable experiment. It is difficult and it is worth realizing that it is difficult.

In the second place, we have gone farther in social design organization, in taking people away from every kind of kin and neighborhood and locality, away from the place where their ancestors were buried to live in a place where they themselves probably will not be buried, or even cremated—moving them, moving them, moving them, from one place to another, from flat 26C at number 1125 39th Avenue to flat 31F at number 2147 37th Avenue in a different city, so that even if they had had years of experience in keeping records for the FBI they could hardly remember their addresses. People move from one anonymous flat to another anonymous flat, and someday in the psychiatrist's office they try in vain to remember where that picture was that once hung over the bed. We have gone further in moving people away from everyone they have formerly known than any culture has ever done. However, we can expect that

in Europe and in Asia more and more people will live the kinds of lives that people live in America, moving and moving again, making new ties and breaking them, all through their lives. Experience that we gain in learning what it is like to move, how to live in new places, and how to leave without too great heartbreak will be useful to the rest of the world.

Then, thirdly, there is another change which I think is exceedingly important, especially for social workers. We have moved from marriage for life to terminable marriage except for those who live within an orthodox religious fold. Everything that went with life-long, guaranteed monogamy, in which even a couple who did not speak to each other for twenty years stayed married, has vanished. We now have to set to work to devise courtship institutions, marital behavior, rearing of children, to fit the fact that marriage is a terminable institution.

Another drastic change has occurred in the bringing up of children. In old, stable societies you brought up the child that, so to speak, you yourself once were. Now, if you stop to consider, you realize that the only kind of child one knows anything about from personal experience is the child which one was. In a homogeneous society one is a child and then grows up and brings up a child of the same kind, then becomes a grandmother. In the course of being a mother and a grandmother she was taught what it would be like to be the same kind of mother and grandmother. So the children learned in their grandmother's arms what it was going to be like to be a grandmother, and that they would end their lives as they began them, and grandmothers were enabled to be grandmothers because the baby behaved like a grandchild. We are just beginning to realize that this continuity has disappeared in this country, that we are bringing up completely unknown little creatures that nobody ever was before, that nobody knows anything about, harder to study than Hottentots (and harder on the sofa). We simply have to treat them as something new in the world. This is true of parents and their children, and of caseworkers and their clients. It is even truer of the older caseworkers and their clients. They are dealing with something that is completely disorienting. We have talked a great deal about how hard it is on children to have old-fashioned parents or

old-fashioned teachers—or old-fashioned caseworkers. We are just learning how hard it is on parents to have new-fashioned children. We had assumed that people were finished when they grew up, that you grew up and you knew how to be a mother or a teacher or a caseworker by the time you were twenty-five and then could just go on being it for life. We have not realized acutely enough that the whole aging process—I do not mean by this what occurs after fifty, but maturing, getting older decently and dignifiedly and without a nervous breakdown—is dependent upon dealing with a world which is in some way understandable and predictable. Today you have to move in a world where everyone younger than yourself is fantastically different, where the arguments you use do not work, where the language spoken is unintelligible—although you can learn that, even if you have to learn a new vocabulary every year or so—where everything is so different that it is almost impossible to be a good grownup because you are being a grownup in a world that is so undefined. If you, as social workers, start following this single thread of un-understood expectations as you think over your cases, in the problems that mothers bring you, problems that teachers bring you, and the problems of the children and young adolescents themselves, you will find that you will have to stop saying, "When I was sixteen my mother said . . ." or "When I was sixteen I felt like this," or "When I was sixteen, and engaged in World War I and went to the railroad station to bid him good-by, I felt . . ." It is not World War I, and they will not feel that way when they go to the railroad station—maybe they do not even say farewells in railroad stations any more.

Recently I discussed with a group of adolescent girls in a Mid-Western college what the etiquette was about the letters and photographs when an engagement was broken. In my day you returned them; now they say that they keep the photographs for souvenirs and the letters they throw away. Some of you will remember the beautiful etiquette of insisting upon the return of that piece of your personality which you had entrusted to the one man or the one girl in the world. Now a girl often has lots of pieces of lots of personalities—she puts them in different bureau drawers. If we say that we must bring up children of a sort we never were, to live

through a childhood we know nothing about, and grow into adults that no one has ever been, this gives us some measure of the complexity that we face and of the sort of new social inventions that are necessary.

Fourthly, we still act on the assumption that people ought to grow up around the age of twenty. We know all about teen-age adolescence and we expect the worst. We know that adolescence is very hard on American young people. We recognize that they are forced to make too many choices at once. We recognize the results of the postponement of the sex impulse—or its nonpostponement. Altogether, we can talk very learnedly about what happens in adolescence. But around twenty to twenty-five we expect people to grow up: they are through adolescence, they are supposed to be ready to get married and settle down and go on to be mothers, and senators and bank presidents. But we are beginning to notice that quite a lot of people do not seem to have grown up at twenty-five. Twenty years ago we just called them "immature." People old enough will remember that in the twenties there was a fashion of calling everything "immature"—motorcars, biscuits, everything. There are still social workers who use the adjective "mature" with approval. (There are lots of supervisors who use it!)

We are going to have to realize that "mature" is no longer a good word. That is a terribly hard thing to do. One of the hardest things you can ask people to do is to take a word that was a good word, a word they bled and died and came home at 10 o'clock for, and say it is not a good word anymore. But what we meant to imply by the word "mature" was that a person had come to terms with life, had chosen a wife or husband, or a job, or both, and had settled down and faced just about how far he was going to get, how many houses he was going to be able to build, or how many automobiles he might expect to buy, whether he was or was not going to be a bank president or an agency head. We called "mature" those who had accurately and soberly evaluated themselves, modulated their ambitions on a reality level. There is nothing the world has less use for today than people of twenty-five who have modulated their ambitions on a reality level. If you look at the whole question in the terms that have become so very popular in social work in the last twenty years

—in psychiatric terms—you will notice that some very significant things are happening. You will see how many men are breaking down between the ages of forty and forty-five, either when their daughters marry or when they have their first grandchild. The day a daughter has her first child is a very hard moment for middle-aged, middle-class men in America. It stresses the fact that they themselves must give up their adolescent dreams—their own eighteen-year-old has become a mother. Their whole occupational emphasis has been upon going up, going up. They still have all the sense of wanting to move up, they are faced in this society with a belief that the minute one cannot move up one is finished; if they cannot get a higher position, if they cannot get another raise, they do not know what else to do, because success has been phrased as a gradient, and a single-scale gradient. You do not become wiser or better at your work, you get a raise or a higher position. You do not acquire more skill or a lot of different skills, or a wider range of greater scope; you go from the "state" to the "national level."

The major conflicts did once come at adolescence, and then a good proportion of the population did settle down, but actually we have a society that is so complex today that the major conflicts are not over at adolescence. The center of conflict is probably going to hit somewhere in the late twenties with another good breakdown period in the forties, and another when one retires, and among the really gifted more and more will die immaturely. The degree to which people accept and settle down in a rut that is not there is not going to be a measure of adjustment to reality. There will be a new measure of the capacity to survive, the capacity to remain tentative, the capacity to change. This is going to be very important to social workers; it is going to be very important in the way they handle counseling, the need for counseling, agencies for the middle aged, for parents whose children are leaving home, for postmenopausal women who are beginning a new life under their husbands' anxious eye. (There are a lot of middle-aged men in this country who are worrying about what their wives are going to do with themselves; and they well may, because if their wives do something with themselves, they will take a fresh start just at the time that the husbands are feeling discouraged.) It is going to make a lot of difference

with what we do with old age counseling and how we set up old age, and whether we are going to try to help very elderly people to keep moving in a moving world, so that what they can teach their grandchildren and their children will be that you can keep developing until you die. That is not what we wanted from grandparents a hundred years ago. We wanted grandparents to sit there quietly and say that the end of life is like the beginning, "the last of life for which the first was made." We do not want them to say that any more. Instead, we need to have them demonstrate that they can conquer race prejudice at eighty—and they can. You would be surprised at what some grandparents can do; they can even begin to believe in socialized medicine at seventy-nine. Our whole conception of people's capacity to move on, to change, and to grow has to be altered.

And finally, we must alter our whole picture of the pressure under which people are living. We must realize that every statesman, every newspaper editor, every chairman of a board, every head of an agency, all the people in this country who carry responsibilities—people who know what is happening in the world, people who read the newspapers, people who pay attention to straws in the wind—all of them are living under a load of anxiety and responsibility that no generation has ever had to live under before, living with the recognition that the next twenty-five years will probably be the most crucial period the human race has yet known. It is not easy to live under those circumstances; it is not easy to continue the routine work of administration or teaching or writing, carrying this load of anxieties that no one has ever carried before. There is no precedent for it, there are no angels to guide us, the necessary prayers have not been written, and as yet there are no rituals. We have to learn to conduct agency life, board life, academic life, public life, with the recognition that people are living under all the stress of war without the excitement of war; under all the tension of war without the sense that the war will end someday; living instead with the knowledge that this will not end in our time, and that the best we can do is to help take the very first steps in developing a pattern which will keep alive mankind's most valuable learnings.

These are some of the changes we have to face. We have to recognize that we are dealing with an experiment of interminglings of

people that we have never tried before, with an experiment of people living far from home, far from relatives, in ever changing situations where one cannot depend upon anybody to support anybody else—except parents with minor children and currently married spouses—and in which the friends who do most of the helping have no legal status at all. We are living in a world where the children are new and different and strange. We are living in a world in which people do not grow up when they are eight, as they do among the Eskimos; or when they are eighteen, as they did in our own past history; or when they are twenty-eight, as they even did in Greenwich Village twenty-five years ago, but in which—in a sense—they are not going to grow up at all but are going to go on making new decisions and changing their plans and changing their orientations toward life all their lives. Finally, we are going to live in a world where the responsible people are under an unprecedentedly greater strain. In the light of these conditions what specific inventions can casework particularly, but all social work as a profession, make? How can we match the whole magnitude of the changes in the world that we have to face for ourselves in this country and for the world? Social work was invented in a more stable world by the fortunate for the unfortunate, by the rich for the poor, by the people who spoke English for the people who did not, by the people with good jobs for the people without jobs, by the well, stable, steady, mature, realistic people for flibbertigibbety, neurotic, sick, handicapped, maladjusted people. Services passed from those who had to those that had not.

What comes next? We had a lot of talk in the war years about what a pity it is that only the most disadvantaged group in our society can get good casework, and isn't it a pity that some busy and valuable woman, no matter what she pays, cannot have as good casework as some bedridden, epileptic woman in a tenement somewhere who has never been anywhere in her life, who may not even speak good English—and yet when she is in need, casework comes along. There has been a lot of talk of that sort, and the general idea was to ask the better-off people to pay a fee. But giving fee services to the better-off is not the answer, even if there were not all the problems that agencies organized to serve the poor must face if they are to do

anything for the middle class and the rich. But it is not a question of taking the case of a lady who lives on Long Island, or Park Avenue, or Hyde Park, or the Main Line, when she is in trouble of some sort. In working with those on the economically underprivileged levels a caseworker may spend all day finding somebody a cook, but that is not what they call it, of course: they are helping to meet the needs of a family in which the mother has been removed by illness and the father is unable to cope with the problems without interfering with his work and possibly losing his job, and the children are psychologically disturbed, and so forth.

But need arises in all classes. The father may be handling a matter internationally important. In the higher income levels the solution is called finding a cook or a nurse. We all know this situation and we all know that it has not been thought out yet. We know that the privileged very often need casework as much as or even more than the underprivileged. But that is not what I want to discuss. I am just saying this much about it to make clear that it is not what I am discussing. I am discussing something quite different, that we have to stop dividing people into the people that need help and the people who give it. We have to stop dividing this world into the haves and the have-nots. We have to stop acting as if the inability to find a cook or a housekeeper or move a bedridden old mother from one part of the country to another or find a school for a psychologically disturbed child or figure out how to rehabilitate somebody who has a bad accident or prepare a child for its parents' divorce separated those with these needs from the professions and the group who then look after them. We must change our conception from one of the people without trouble looking after the people in trouble—if rich, for a fee; if poor, without one—to the recognition that this is not a world in which the mature, well-adjusted, normal, realistic people do not get into trouble too. We live, all of us, in a world we did not make, in a world we were not reared in, in a world which no one taught us how to live in, in a world in which the social inventions for caring for the sick, for meeting any kind of emergency or change, are woefully inadequate, as inadequate for the gifted as for the ungifted, as inadequate, in many instances, for the rich as for the poor. Social work has done a magnificent job, and I

think that it deserves more credit, certainly, than any other profession in the country for changing conceptions about relief, for changing the position of a man who is out of work in an industrial society from that of a failure and an object of charity to that of a dignified citizen quietly claiming a right that is his as a member of his community. Social work has transmuted the whole attitude toward unemployment, from the days of the Irish famine, when they put the soup kitchens miles out of town so that the hungry would have to at least walk two miles to get their food, to the present status in which the unemployed receive help as a right. And it is an enormous achievement.

Now we have to do for social and psychological difficulties the same thing that has been done for economic difficulties. We must get rid of the idea that people must admit that they need help—which means, you see, putting the caseworker and the social agency in the position of the psychiatrist. A psychiatric patient can be defined as one who asks for help—that is diagnostic of the need for psychiatric care, because nobody who is not sick could bear it. We have done a good deal of the same thing in casework. We have said that people must admit need, a pressing need, before they could be helped. This is a form of moral arrogance, a form of wanting to define those who need help as lower or lesser or weaker than those who give it. As a matter of fact, most caseworkers need help with their bedridden mothers just as much as their clients do, only they have no place to go for it. Bedridden older people and little children that have to be put somewhere during an emergency, and broken marriages where people have to be adjusted to their new lives, newcomers in a new town, and the people who are leaving the place where they have been all their lives—all of these are common problems, part of the way in which modern life affects all of us. Casework, the whole of social work, must become a profession whose job is to orient all those who need orientation, both those who are doing better than most people and therefore need more help, and those who are doing less well and so need help. Help is needed at least as much by an important newspaper editor on whose editorial, perhaps, negotiations of an international conference will turn, as by a family all of whom are feeble-minded and epileptic. I

want to say again what I am *not* saying. I am not saying that we should stop caring for the feeble-minded and the epileptics. I do not think that we can be a good society unless we look after our unhappy, our grievously troubled, our defective, and our diseased. We must care for them and keep them in as good condition as possible all their lives. But I also do not think that we can be a good society until the profession that knows more than any other profession about getting an ambulance, or finding a place to put somebody for twenty-four hours, is working for everyone in society, the gifted and the fortunate as well as the defective or unfortunate, and working for everyone with the knowledge that all of us are in the same boat, all living in a world we never dreamt of, all sometimes losing our way, as we try to keep the world going until we have reared a generation who know better how to live in it.

Coöperation of Education and Social Work

By EARL J. MCGRATH

IT IS NOT DIFFICULT to talk about coöperation between education and social work because the two professions have basically so much in common. They both deal with human beings from the earliest years of their lives into adulthood. If I understand the larger purposes of social work they are very much like the purposes of education in a democracy. The educator has two primary responsibilities: (1) to cultivate certain skills, attitudes, and knowledge which the individual needs to live an effective and satisfying life in our society; and (2) to make possible the modification of society to the end that a fuller life may be achieved by all.

I see a close parallel between these goals and those mentioned by Charlotte Towle in the *Social Work Journal*. In speaking of the principal responsibilities of social workers she says that there is urgent need for social work "to help individuals through case work or group work methods . . . to make more productive use of their environments, and maximum use of their potentialities, and to reshape social institutions which are failing to fulfill their functions."¹

Now it is true that social workers deal with those whose lives have somehow got out of joint with their environment, while educators deal to a larger degree with those whose lives are in a process of relatively normal development. As I see it, however, the two professions are moving closer together in this respect; for the social worker is increasingly influential in the modification of institutions and customs which cause individual distress of one sort or another, and the educator is paying more attention to the origins of individual

¹ Charlotte Towle, "Issues and Problems in Curriculum Development," *Social Work Journal*, XXX, No. 2 (April, 1949), 69.

personal difficulties and providing facilities and counsel to bring about a better adjustment of the individual to his environment. The social worker is surely a teacher in the best sense of the word, and teachers, I am glad to say, are more and more adopting a dynamic and functional approach to educational problems. A good example of the latter is the Life Adjustment Education program of the Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency which rests on the view that the school program has been too academic for a large percentage of youth. This program seeks to have the schools do a better job of preparing young people to fit into the complicated and dynamic society into which they move when they leave the classroom.

Human beings are central in this program, not school subjects. We are both concerned with the adjustment of the individual to society and with the gradual changing of that society to make possible a fuller and a more satisfying life for all. I should like to note that these purposes place teachers and social workers in a relationship with their charges found in no other profession except possibly the clergy. Teachers and social workers are guides and counselors. By the very nature of their professional relationships they direct the development of the mind and of the character. They are in a position to form and to reshape fundamental views and convictions on the most important aspects of life. They deal with value judgments of great significance to the individual and to the whole of society. Society has a right to expect from the members of both professions, therefore, the most scrupulous observance of the integrity of the individual and of his right to make up his own mind on social and political issues within the framework of American democratic society. Only as citizens achieve the capacity to arrive at their own decisions on the basis of a thoughtful and objective examination of the issues and facts involved can democracy be strong.

One common goal of both educators and social workers should be the education of our people regarding the meaning and the purposes of social welfare and social security. The plain truth is that from the founding of America to this day there has been bred into our bones the concept that economic aid provided to an individual by the government or a voluntary agency is by nature a gratuity.

The passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 was profoundly significant because it made possible a final break with the English Poor Law concept of economic aid to underprivileged individuals. The underlying philosophy of the statute embodies the American concept of the worth of the individual. The Act maintains this principle by safeguarding the freedom and self-respect of a person in establishing as a right his eligibility to public assistance and social insurance. Under this Act the individual has the right to use money received through it with the same freedom that he or any other citizen of the community would have to use funds paid by an individual employer. Newspaper accounts clearly indicate, however, that neither the public nor some social workers understand or accept this concept. The general public does not yet understand the philosophical basis of security, nor its practical implications. There is a widespread belief that every act of a government agency or a private philanthropic body which increases a man's security automatically reduces his freedom. This is a matter which deserves careful analysis and study. In the discussion of public issues in recent years, especially those related to such matters as education, health, housing, and farm prices, questions concerning security and freedom have been prominent. In these discussions it has often been assumed that there is a conflict between the two; that is, either we have freedom, or we have security. I believe this to be a false and misleading proposition, and one which must be exposed if we are to have any type of adequate social security program. I think we can strengthen our democracy by perfecting it, by improving the lot of all our citizens through constructive social action.

The question is how much security we can have while maintaining a maximum of freedom—freedom from the arbitrary and capricious actions of others, and freedom from the privations and restrictions imposed by social dislocations and maladjustments. I believe that the history of our nation shows a steady growth in the well-being of our people with a commensurate growth in freedom. I believe that we can achieve much greater security than we enjoy at present, not with a loss of, but with an actual increase in, political and personal independence. On the average, we enjoy greater physical comforts, better health, greater vocational opportunities,

higher real incomes, and fuller educational advantages than our forefathers ever had, or than any other nation has today. These improvements in the conditions of life in the United States have been achieved largely through democratic social action. Our personal freedom has not been impaired in any important respect. There are, to be sure, violations of civil rights and gross inequalities of one sort or another. But these are neither the general rule nor the public policy, as has been and is true in other nations. We have a free press, the right of free speech, including unrestrained criticism of the government and its officers, freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom of worship, and the right to vote as we wish. Our democratic rights have not been abridged. I believe that our national security and prosperity can be indefinitely extended without loss of political liberty. In discharging our national responsibilities as a world leader I can think of no greater action we might take as a people to impress others with the merits of our way of life than by constantly improving the well-being of our citizens. Members of both professions, education and social work, have an important responsibility in clarifying some of the issues involved in discussions of security and its relation to freedom.

This leads me to a consideration of the functions of social work education and of the part that educational institutions can play in the preparation of social workers for their professional duties. This is an enormous undertaking, and it grows apace. In the thirteen years since the Social Security Act became effective, the demand for professionally prepared social workers has skyrocketed. It is estimated that there are 100,000 social welfare positions in the field. No more than sixty universities have schools of social work that offer as much as one year of graduate professional preparation, and I am told that in their entire history these schools have prepared only 30,000 workers with one or two years of professional work. The shortages of professional personnel in the field of social work are even more acute than in teaching, medicine, or nursing. Moreover, the number of positions is increasing faster than the supply of qualified personnel. Altogether, the schools of social work annually add to the supply of qualified practitioners fewer than 2,500 persons with one or more years of professional preparation. With present

educational facilities it would require fifty years for supply to catch up with demand.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the profession of social work is making heavy demands on the universities for enlarging existing facilities and for establishing additional schools of social work located in areas where these educational opportunities do not now exist. One of the obstacles to the development of new schools and to the improvement of those already established is the difficulty that university officials have in realizing that educating a social worker is an expensive undertaking. They accept without question an annual cost of \$2,200 for the education of a physician, dentist, or nuclear physicist. They are, however, still reluctant to add to the budget \$1,000 per student for educating social workers. If social work education is to be adequate to the needs of the profession, much larger sums must be available to these schools, for new and more diversified services must be provided.

The development of comprehensive and functional programs for educating all types of social worker and the accreditation of these programs are two of the most crucial problems the profession now faces. When social work education was limited primarily to the preparation of caseworkers the problem was not so complicated. But within the last decade the problem has been made more acute by demands for the preparation of other professional personnel. Instruction for social group workers has been added. But youth-serving organizations do not believe that social work programs are yet sufficiently oriented to their needs. State public welfare departments expect schools of social work to devote more attention to the preparation of administrators, supervisors, and research workers. Many social welfare leaders are of the opinion, moreover, that social work education should be broadened and strengthened so as to prepare more of the kind of welfare worker that is needed in the social insurances, in vocational rehabilitation, in public health, and in the welfare activities of such organizations as labor unions, business corporations, and correctional agencies. Others hope that universities will soon find more adequate means for preparing social work leaders for service in foreign countries. These pressures on schools of social work are creating problems of the first magnitude.

The Office of Education has been very much interested in these problems which the profession now faces. As evidence of this interest the Office has loaned its Chief of College Administration, Dr. Ernest V. Hollis, to the National Council on Social Work Education to direct a study which, it is hoped, will help the profession to chart its course for at least the next two decades. The basic premise of this study is that all parties with an immediate interest in social welfare—representatives of schools of social work, universities, practitioners, employers, and the general public—should participate in the plans to modify and expand the educational program. The same groups should be concerned with the development of a workable plan of accreditation that will assure the states and the public of an adequate supply of qualified professional practitioners.

Now, since the preparation of these new members of the profession must be the joint responsibility of social workers and educators, it will not be considered improper for an educator to express a few of his own ideas concerning some of the principles that should be observed in laying long-range plans for social work education. These same principles, I believe, should be basic in the development of a program of accreditation. The profession of social work is fortunate in the sense that social work curricula are still in a formative stage. This makes it possible to take advantage of the best experiences of educators and members of other professions in curriculum planning.

It seems to me that the first principle in building a social work curriculum is contained in this question: What will the graduate of this course of study be expected to do? This functional approach has the advantage of avoiding the restrictions imposed by academic practices and traditions which, however useful they may have been at one time, may now have become obsolete and a hindrance rather than a help. It also has the advantage of focusing attention upon the important and the philosophical, as contrasted with the trivial and mechanical, aspects of education. No doubt, some are saying, "Well of course it is perfectly obvious that a curriculum should be designed to prepare professional workers for the responsibilities peculiar to their occupation." But when a practical decision must be made concerning a specific feature of the curriculum the principle

is often forgotten or violated because it seems to conflict with accepted practice.

Take, for example, the research requirement for a graduate degree in one of the professions like social work or medicine. In considering the type of graduate program a future practicing physician or social worker should follow, the question must be asked whether the conventional thesis, based upon an original contribution to knowledge, actually prepares the practitioner for the kind of responsibility he will be called upon to assume. I think the answer must be negative. The majority of practitioners do no research and cannot hope to do any if they are going to engage in the full-time practice of their profession. Yet some of the most recent graduate programs for practitioners retain a research requirement more fitting for future scholars.

The present confusion of education for a life of scholarship with education for the practice of other professions has weakened both. Those who seek to become theorists and scholarly investigators are handicapped by being subjected to academic routines in the training of a practitioner. Those, on the other hand, who wish to learn the practice of a profession such as social work, or medicine, needlessly spend their time and energy in learning the techniques of scholarly investigation, in satisfying foreign-language requirements, and in preparing a thesis which is often of questionable quality as an original piece of investigative work.

In medicine, for example, students commonly pursue a graduate program with the aim, not of continuing a life of research, but rather of entering specialized practice as internists, ophthalmologists, or otolaryngologists. Likewise, in schools of social work they study to become psychiatric social workers, probation officers, or public welfare administrators. It is unfortunate that these students have been expected to make original contributions to knowledge in the sense of doing fundamental research, or led to believe that they have done so. Only confusion has eventuated from the practice of putting the development of a new technique in medical treatment, or the collection of a body of data on a particular social problem, in the same category with theoretical research. The fact of the matter is that a large percentage of these so-called "contribu-

tions to knowledge" are not that in any real sense. They are compilations of data to illuminate a practical problem or determine a professional practice. That is what they should be. They prepare students to come to grips with the problems that they will encounter in professional practice. The awarding of graduate degrees for the completion of studies of this type is a sound practice.

The application of a functional test to the foreign-language requirements in many graduate programs would, I am sure, show that it does not contribute to the effectiveness of a practitioner in many professions. It is a vestigial organ like the appendix, which is no longer useful but which does cause considerable trouble for a good many people. There is no need to give other examples. I hope that those who design the accrediting items for the social work curriculum will appraise them realistically in terms of their functional value.

You will have noted that I am assuming that education for social work will be graduate education; that is, the professional course of study in social work will be based upon a four-year, undergraduate program. For several reasons, specialization in social work in the undergraduate years appears to me to be undesirable. In the first place, few colleges are prepared to offer such instruction of suitable quality. It would be many years before any number of colleges could provide the staff and facilities to offer a major in social work. Only the rare college of liberal arts can add a professional program such as social work and maintain it at a level that would produce well-qualified members of the profession. Such programs are likely to be developed on a makeshift basis using such resources of buildings and people as are at hand. In this connection let me quote the opinion of one of the great leaders of the social work profession, Edith Abbott, who has said:

One difficulty we have had to face in the past is that the colleges and universities usually begin work in our field by delegating it to a representative of one of the older social sciences, and a professor of sociology, or economics, or business, or occasionally, government undertakes to tack on to his departmental offerings a few courses given by a subordinate appointed to a position of low academic rank. These courses usually include case work and another subject or two concerned with what our academic friend is likely to call social work "techniques,"

and especially a little field work that will enable him to say that the student is prepared for a salaried position in our field. Well, this is neither the science nor the art of our profession. It is nothing but an inadequate beginning and too often serves to cover an artful dodging of the real issue.²

Though this statement was intended to describe a situation that existed in 1928, the resources of colleges are even less able now to support a sound program of undergraduate education in social work than they were then.

All the evidence, it seems to me, suggests that professional social workers should begin their specialized studies at the graduate level. They should possess the type of intellectual maturity and the breadth of learning which four years of liberal arts education provide. In recognition of this fact, most professions which do not now require a Bachelor's degree are steadily increasing the proportion of general liberal studies in their total educational program. It would not seem to be sound for the profession of social work to move in the opposite direction. There is also the factor of professional cohesiveness. Students who enroll in the same professional school and study a common technical curriculum develop an *esprit de corps* and a set of attitudes and mannerisms which weld the group into a strong professional unit. In the newer professions this is a matter of considerable importance.

Even if we assume that the professional school of social work is a graduate unit built upon four years of preparatory education, the question still arises—what kinds of courses should the student pursue in the undergraduate years? Both the intellectual qualities required in the practice of social work and the experience of other professions with preprofessional subjects suggest that students should pursue the broadest possible undergraduate course. Of all the professions I can think of, none demands a more comprehensive and varied knowledge of man and his world than social work. If there were space I believe that I could show that philosophy, the fine arts, biological science, and the other liberal arts studies have valuable contributions to make to the education of a social worker. The tendency will be for the pre-social work student to think that

² Edith Abbott, *Social Welfare and Professional Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 67-68.

the more social science he includes in his college course the greater will be his success in the professional school. It is, of course, necessary for future students of social work to have a grounding in social science, but if they specialize excessively they will narrow their own education and deprive the profession of the type of broad, philosophical approach to its problems which distinguishes the professional worker from the technician.

There is no evidence in the other professions to show that the student who early begins to specialize in his chosen field makes any better record in the professional school or in the practice of the profession than his classmates who pursue a broader course of studies. Indeed, my own investigations in the fields of premedical and predental education indicate that there is no significant, positive relationship between the number of science courses an undergraduate takes and his success in the medical or dental school. A study made at Harvard University some years ago showed similar results. I do not know of any such studies in the field of social work but I would venture the guess that they would also show that students who had majored in the social sciences would make no better records in the graduate school of social work than those who had majored in biology or modern languages, other things being equal. The most important predictive factor in success in a graduate professional school is the previous academic standing of the student, regardless of the subjects he pursued. I would hope, therefore, that whatever requirements are set up for admission to, or for the accreditation of, schools of social work would not involve a heavy prescription of courses in the undergraduate years.

It would seem to me desirable also to maintain this same emphasis on breadth of training in the graduate years, certainly in any program below the level of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The excessive fragmentation of knowledge that has characterized some of the instruction in colleges and universities has made it difficult for students to gain a knowledge of those general principles needed to see a problem in its broad relationships. Here again the difference between a technician and a professional person lies to a large extent in the competence of the latter to apply large, theoretical principles to specific situations. The advantages of broad, philo-

sophical education over technological training became apparent during the war years. Several of our noted scientists have pointed out that although we had superior engineering and technological know-how, many of our scientific developments depended upon the fundamental research of scholars in other countries. The professional school of social work can serve its purposes most fully by giving future members of the profession a broad grounding in the general principles of the subject, leaving specialization for later experience. The mobility within various branches of the profession also argues for a broad base of knowledge. Is it not likely that a large proportion of those who enter the profession will, fifteen or twenty years hence, not be working in their initial line of social work? If graduates are well grounded in their field, however, they can be expected to adapt quickly to the specialized needs of various positions and agencies, and they will have a comprehensive knowledge of the principles on which all programs of social work rest. They will thus gain an understanding of the whole social work enterprise and its place in American society.

There are other aspects of education for social work which I should like to discuss, such as field work and its relation to classroom teaching. There is the matter of providing education for those who are already practicing. This is as important as the systematic programs for full-time students now in the schools, for we cannot wait for new generations of social workers to come from these institutions. The teaching profession can certainly help in this connection because we have been upgrading our own personnel for years through in-service courses, seminars, workshops, and other forms of education for those who are already employed. There is also the matter of the relationships between the agencies and the educational institutions. But these are subjects which the practicing social worker is better able to discuss than I am.

We in the Office of Education want to continue to be helpful to the profession of social work in any manner within our means. The Office does not make educational policy or exercise control over educational institutions. We are a service agency. To increase our service to the profession of social work we have plans to add a person to our staff in social work education. When that can be done is

not yet clear, but we will continue to work coöperatively with the profession on a consultative basis. The profession of social work is one of extraordinary vitality and imagination. We educators are proud to be associated with social work in the improvement of its own educational program and through its work, in the improvement of American life.

Coöperation of Industry and Social Work

I. FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF MANAGEMENT

By MEYER KESTNBAUM

THREE ARE MANY who would deny that social work can exercise any very important role in resolving social conflicts. In fact, I believe that I could produce a few who believe that social work has contributed to the conflict. As for the suggestion that progress toward our social goals depends substantially, or even in part, upon our ability to reconcile mere differences and approach, many serious students of society would consider it a gross oversimplification.

The "good life" is a noble phrase which permits agreement on general principles but which means different things to different people. There are wide differences of opinion as to what constitutes the good life and even greater differences as to how quickly and by what means that happy state may be achieved. That this is true, it seems to me, is borne out by even a casual look at the history of our country and our society. The aspiration for the good life is as old as society itself. It is reflected in our moral and spiritual values, in our laws, in our institutions, and in our culture. We could not possibly plead ignorance of what is good. The Western world has had an ethical religious tradition for some five thousand years. For more than twenty-four hundred years, since the dawn of Greek philosophy, we have discussed the moral, political, and social ideas that make up the good life—justice, freedom, virtue, happiness. For almost two thousand years since the Christian revelation we have had before us the vision of the life dedicated to the glory of God and the brotherhood of man. We have had a whole series of

utopias offering plans and blueprints for an ideal society. We have had several decades of social planning, not to mention seventeen years of the New Deal, and we find ourselves in the middle of the twentieth century still struggling with the same fundamental problems that have perplexed every society that we know anything about. The German philosopher Hegel seems to have been right when he suggested that the only thing we learn from history is that we do not learn from history.

This is not quite so discouraging as it seems, for we need only look about us to be aware of the tremendous progress which has been made in certain areas. We have minimized many of the hazards of life. We have added greatly to its physical comforts, to its material advantages, and to its opportunities. What we are apt to overlook is that there is a relativism of social goals. The principles of justice may be stated in absolute terms, but the specific determination of what is just changes as our horizons advance. Even perfect justice in the seventeenth century would have permitted only a miserable scale of living by our present standards. What was just then would not be just today, and many of the conditions which appear to be just today will not be so regarded tomorrow. We live in a dynamic society in which the principle of progress exercises a very powerful role. Many of our most difficult problems are inherent in the dynamic quality of this society. It has long been recognized that the ability to accommodate itself to change is one of the fundamental tests of the vitality of society. Why is this so? Because it is a test of basic unity.

Social and economic changes are usually desired by those who have something to gain or nothing to lose by a change. They are usually opposed by those who have a vested interest in established order. For the first group, change is identified with progress; for the second, it is the symbol of revolution. Every change, whether it is desirable or whether it is not, produces strains and dislocations. It is not usually recognized that the rate of change can create as many problems as the nature of change itself. Certain changes can be accomplished relatively quickly. Others, such as those involving deep-seated prejudices, can be accomplished, if at all, only through a long and gradual process of education and example. And still

others are hardly subject to change at all. We have made some of our saddest mistakes in attempting to change certain attitudes and certain institutions too quickly.

Perhaps it is appropriate to inquire whether social work as such may claim any special competence in dealing with the difficult and complicated problems of our day. That social work has been deeply concerned with the position of the worker, that it has stood for better working conditions, for progressive legislation, and for recognition of human factors in industry is obvious to all. The influence of certain great personalities in social work, as typified by Jane Addams, has been so great as to directly affect the course of labor history. There is no need to elaborate the point. Social work has demonstrated its deep interest in the field and a large degree of influence. In many cases the point of view of social work may well be regarded as the best expression of the conscience of the community. This suggests that those of us who are engaged in social work have inherited, not only a great tradition, but also a great responsibility. It suggests that we must operate intelligently in the areas where we have a right to claim professional competence and that we must be conscious of our limitations in those areas in which we are not expert. It seems to me, also, that if we are to work with labor and with industry toward common social goals it is incumbent on us to develop a better understanding of the nature of our economy and the way in which it works.

In an era of great technological and scientific developments we have developed the most highly integrated and complex economy that the world has ever seen. It is natural for such a society to place great emphasis on material advantages. Our country is regarded throughout the world as the foremost exponent of the philosophy which associates a good life with a high degree of material well-being. We have developed a standard of living which is the envy of the world. Yet, there is no one who feels that it is good enough. We want more things for more people, better homes, better food, better care. How is this to be accomplished?

One view is that we ought to redistribute the wealth of the country. It is interesting to observe that in England, where this theory has wider acceptance than in our own country, Sir Stafford Cripps

recently told the Parliament: "There is not much more immediate possibility of redistribution of national income by way of taxation in this country. For the future we must rely rather upon the creation of more distributable wealth than upon redistribution of income that exists." His observation applies with equal force to our own economy. We can raise our standards only if we produce more of the things that are needed.

Another idea that has captured the imagination of many is that of a planned society. This too is a phrase which has many meanings. If what is meant by planning is the application of knowledge and thought to the solution of a particular problem, I am all for it. The building of a building is an example of the value of a plan. Plans work best when they are applied to complicated procedures in which the critical factors are known and are subject to control. When the factors are volatile, as they usually are in matters affecting the body politic, plans are uncertain. I believe that it was Tolstoy who said that no battle ever developed according to plan. The notion that any one group can make plans for an economy as complex as ours seems to me to be preposterous. Where is this wisdom to be found?

There are fashions in ideas. The idea that is currently gaining vogue is that of the welfare state. Does this mean simply that the state exists for the benefit of the people? If so, that is simply a restatement of a very old idea. I believe that the welfare state derives its appeal from two basic convictions: one, that our economic system can no longer by itself meet the needs of our society; and two, that the state should assume the final or residual responsibility for the welfare and security of the masses of our people.

I will not attempt to enter into any extensive discussions of the idea of a welfare state. I would like to suggest only one thing, and that is that we are still confronted with the problem of producing the benefits which we wish to distribute. I believe that in principle every State, unless it is a malevolent tyranny, considers itself a welfare state. Only because we are able to develop and maintain a high standard of living are we able to consider anything approaching what is generally regarded as a welfare state, and all we need to do is look abroad to see that the idea by itself and unaided by a strong

and productive economy can do nothing but share the misery rather than share the wealth.

This is not the place for a defense of the competitive system. It has many serious faults and certain important virtues. Many of its faults are inherent, not in the system, but in the people themselves. With all its faults, the system has brought us a long way. It is highly adaptable. It has demonstrated its capacity for improvement. As long as this is so I would hesitate, in Hamlet's words, "to fly from the ills we know to those we know not."

It seems to me that we should now consider what is the responsibility of social work. Surely we have the duty to listen and to learn, and to avoid immature or doctrinaire judgments. We are charged too often with judging with our hearts rather than with our heads. It has been suggested that we pass too many pious resolutions on matters regarding which we are not thoroughly informed. The same people who would never presume to tinker with a complicated piece of machinery are frequently quite courageous about tinkering with the complicated organism of the body politic. This is an attitude which does not do credit to a professional group like ours.

With the increasing interest in welfare programs we have a further responsibility, that of improving our performance in the field where we may really claim to be expert. Collectively we know a great deal, and I would venture the opinion that our goal in many cases is considerably ahead of our performance. In dealing with our own projects and our own agencies we are very apt to lose much of our objectivity. We have a great tendency to cling to programs, to perpetuate agencies even where the program of the agency has passed the peak of its usefulness, and where the time, money, and effort might very well be devoted to something of larger importance to the community.

It seems to me also that we are unduly addicted to organization charts and that we are rather substantially oversold on the possibilities of planning. Planning is not an end in itself. Too often we hear references to long-range planning, long-term planning, short-range and short-term planning, long-view (and I might add long-winded) planning. Planning has value when it directs and fa-

cilitates action. The fault is not so much with the idea of planning as with the planners. In the final analysis, the value of our work is to be measured in terms of the services which we render to the people who need them. All our other activities should be regarded as overhead, which must be appraised in terms of what we finally deliver. And the need for critical self-scrutiny at this time is heightened by the fact that we are approaching what I regard as a real crisis in the whole field of social work. We are all conscious of the fact that we are in a field which does not lend itself to mechanization or to mass production. We have no way of accomplishing the increased productivity which has characterized industry and which has permitted us to produce more and more with less human effort. When we analyze the figures for social agencies we discover that our costs are climbing steadily. It is true of social work as of business that there are many marginal activities, and it seems inevitable that in our own social work field we will run into serious difficulties during the next few years.

We are discovering needs more rapidly than we can meet them. Our horizons are expanding more rapidly than our resources. To a greater degree than ever before our social agencies are relying on corporate contributions. As governmental and public agencies continue to take over a large portion of the field we find in many quarters a diminished sense of community responsibility. If we should run into a serious business recession, we would be faced with many problems. We ought not wait too long to analyze our functions and put emphasis on those areas where we can deliver to the community the maximum amount of useful service in relation to the money which we receive.

Fortunately, there are some developments in our favor. An increasing number of business institutions are willing to accept their responsibilities to the community. There is beginning to develop recognition of the fact that the support of our social agencies and our welfare structure ought to be regarded, partially at least, as part of the cost of doing business rather than as an expense which fluctuates with the prosperity of the company. I believe that organized labor through its representatives on our boards and committees has made a remarkable contribution, not only in developing the critical

point of view to which I have referred, but also in bringing to the chests and councils the active financial support and understanding of its members.

In my opinion, the real hope for the future of our system lies in the intelligent coöperation of the large organized groups in our society and particularly of organized labor and industrial management. I put greater faith in the prospect of successful coöperation on the part of management and labor than I do in the promises of those who ask for a paternalistic government with larger powers. I believe that management and labor have worked out many of their problems and, given a reasonable opportunity, and reasonable leadership, will continue to work out all the difficult problems that face them—not easily, for there are some difficult ones, but with steady progress. Furthermore, there is some value in the struggle that goes on. I am much more hopeful about that prospect than about any other solution that is presently offered.

Does social work have a contribution to make? Yes. It lies in bringing to the discussion of our problems a point of view that is informed, objective, and critical. It is not my place to suggest what we ought to think, but I do submit that we must think, and think hard. The role that we envisage requires that we do more intelligently and more skillfully the job now assigned to us lest someone say to us, "Doctor, heal thyself."

I suggest, finally, that in our approach to these problems there be a touch of humility. It seems to me quite significant that the greatest historian of our time, Arnold Toynbee, who looks at our troubled civilization from the vantage point of 6,000 years of recorded history, suggests "that we pray in a humble spirit and with a contrite heart."

II. FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF LABOR A.F. of L.

By HARRY E. O'REILLY

THREE IS A TENDENCY on the part of all of us to consider our faults as if they were yesterday's newspaper. Having once read the news items in yesterday's paper we are annoyed if the same items are printed in today's paper. Having once aired and discussed our faults we become annoyed if someone mentions them again without our having done anything about them. We are too inclined to believe that discussion is solution and that repetition of discussion is confusion. The fact of the matter is, of course, that discussion without solution is chaos.

I present that preface because I wish to discuss briefly the term "social work" and I am well aware of the fact that social workers have frequently given long and serious consideration to the widespread misunderstanding of the term. I know that real progress has been made in the past few years toward correcting this misunderstanding but I am also convinced that the continued misunderstanding in large areas of the body politic is a strong force that prevents organized labor and management from joining with social workers in accomplishing the objective of a good life for all people.

I am not speaking here of the prominent leaders of management or of organized labor. Social work has, in large part, won their support, coöperation, and initiative. The very fact that I will not find it necessary to devote nearly all this discussion to a listing of the accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor in the area of social work is sufficient evidence that the leaders of the profession have accepted organized labor as an effective partner in social work. I am referring to the manager of the plant and the business agent in the union. Some effective ways and means must be found of joining their efforts with those of the local social worker. In the final analysis, they are the ones who make the drives for funds for voluntary agencies successful or unsuccessful, and at the polls they

approve or disapprove proposals affecting social work and elect or reject public officials who direct publicly supported social projects.

Arthur J. Altmeyer, at the 1948 National Conference of Social Work, gave a definition of social work that deserves repeating and repeating until all areas of the body politic accept it. He said:

The newer concept of social work consists, not only of counseling and assisting the individual and family in making the necessary adjustments to environment, but, more importantly, it consists of marshaling community resources to promote the well-being of individuals and of families generally. In other words, we do not think any longer in terms of a few underprivileged and disadvantaged persons; we think in terms of all individuals and families. We think not in terms of "cure" or even "prevention," but in affirmative terms of actively promoting well-being rather than simply avoiding ill-being.¹

The leadership of the A.F. of L. has a similar approach, and instead of making a general statement I shall cite a concrete incident that bears out my point. The Executive Council, in reporting to the sixty-seventh Annual Convention of the A.F. of L., said in part:

It might appear that such programs as are contemplated by a World Health Organization would be of such technical nature that a labor organization such as the American Federation of Labor might have no direct concern in them. The opening words of the preamble of the Constitution of the World Health Organization itself, however, are evidence to the contrary.

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity . . .

Informed opinion and active coöperation on the part of the public are of the utmost importance in the improvement of the health of the people.

Now in my opinion, it is not the lack of informed leadership on the part of management and organized labor that is the stumbling block to coöperation with social workers, but rather it is the lack of "informed opinion and active coöperation on the part of the public," that is, the local plant manager and the union business agent and those who look to them for immediate leadership and guidance. And it is not their fault. They have not been told. Their coöpera-

¹ Arthur J. Altmeyer, "Social Work and Broad Social and Economic Measures," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1948* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 101-102.

tion has not been asked, or has been merely proposed—and as any boy or girl can tell you, a proposal is only a step toward marriage, it is not marriage itself.

Each one of the three groups has done a remarkable job in informing its membership of its plans and programs. Many times each group has initiated and carried through a social work program that was beneficial, not only to themselves, but to the entire public—and they were well aware of the fact that it would be beneficial to the entire public. However, very often, and far too often in our opinion, the very fact that the latter type of program was initiated by, or endorsed by, one of the three groups immediately and almost automatically aroused the suspicion, if not the hostility, of one of the other groups. This attitude is nothing more than the law of the jungle: be suspicious of every movement but your own.

In the field of industrial relations, labor and management have made real progress in leaving the jungle. We are not out of it yet, unfortunately, but the jungle is not so dense as it was some years ago. I think that we can make similar progress in the field of social work. No group will get all that it wants, but we do not achieve that in the field of industrial relations either. But if we work together the public will get more than it is getting now.

Labor and management do come together in this field. I shall give only a few examples:

In New York City the A.F. of L. union and management in the electrical construction industry have undertaken a scholarship program at Columbia University which has been characterized by an outstanding educator as a "pioneering step."

In March of 1949 representatives from organized labor, industry, government, and hundreds of the nation's communities attending the National Conference of Industrial Safety adopted an "action now" program.

Local labor-management committees have been hailed as the "very backbone of apprenticeship in America," and as "a splendid example of what can be done through labor-management coöperation."

The A.F. of L.'s Union Industries show was held not long ago in Cleveland. This show was sponsored by the A.F. of L. Union

Label Trades Department to demonstrate the skills of the organization's craftsmen and to stress labor amity with employers. All A.F. of L. unions and more than two hundred manufacturers had exhibits. More than five hundred thousand persons attended the show.

Labor-management coöperation can be extended, and is being extended in the field of social work. Take, for example, the many members of the A.F. of L. who hold membership on boards and committees of community chests and councils, and their participating agencies.

Roberta Mason, of Chicago, risked death to save her younger brothers and sisters in a fire that destroyed her home. In exactly three weeks A.F. of L. craftsmen of twenty-one unions of the Chicago Building Trades Council built a new home for Roberta and her family, with supplies and equipment furnished by eighty-six manufacturers and merchants. The story caught the national headlines. This is an example of social work in action, just as was the construction in New Jersey of a home for a wounded veteran. There is a multitude of examples of such labor-management coöperation.

These are dramatic examples, and we are proud of them, but we are also proud of, and most concerned with, the fact that our membership is taking part on the boards and committees of voluntary agencies. And continually, these A.F. of L. members work for and plan for labor-management-social work coöperation, whether it be in a public or a private agency.

We have gone so far as to give firm and explicit instructions to our representatives on the national staff of Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc., that any program supported by them must be based essentially on labor-management-social work coöperation. And why? Because, in our opinion, working separately we can only bring limited services to a limited group. Working together we can bring expanding services to all the people.

Let us now come to the crux of the matter: "How can we achieve this coöperation? I have had my 'discussion'; now what is my 'solution'? How are we going to go about informing the public, the plant manager, the union business agent, the local social worker?"

I am no expert in the field of social work although I sympathize with its plans. However, my fellow officers and I in organized labor

do know something about organization and how to reach our membership. I know that when we want to inform them on wage negotiations we reach and arouse every member. I know also that management can reach and arouse every one of its officials on similar issues. For our private aims we have set up large organizational procedures that cost millions to erect and more millions to maintain. Why not combine them for the common good?

We have three great groups—management, social work, and labor—with many affiliates, for representation, information, and action. Let us combine them in this field where the objective is “a good life for all the people.”

Social workers have the technical knowledge. We in labor and management have the means of informing our membership and the public. I would like to see in every community organization, in every agency, a labor-management-social work committee that would plan and work together to bring the message of social work to the public so that we can have that “informed opinion and active coöperation on the part of the public.”

III. FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF LABOR, C.I.O.

By WALTER REUTHER

THREE is a growing realization on the part of organized labor in America that the field in which labor operates is a field of common endeavor, and if we are going to achieve the noble objectives that we all aspire to we will make progress to the degree that we can develop closer and more effective coöperation. I am happy to say that the Community Services Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations is continually broadening its activities, and in my own union we have been training union counselors. They are the union committee members who do not handle grievances in the shop but do handle grievances in the community, working with the various community agencies trying to take care of the problems of

the worker as a citizen in the community. I am extremely encouraged by the fact that social work is anxious to get away from the sort of patch-up, catch-up work that you have been committed to all these years. If you, as social workers, are anxious to take the offensive in America, you can start to minimize the purely negative aspects of social work and get over to the affirmative, positive aspects of trying to build with other citizens that fuller and richer life that we all want.

I want to discuss some of the practical problems that we must meet as together we travel the road to that better world and that better life. This job that you and I, and all those in America who aspire to building this better life, are taking on is not an ivory-tower operation. It is a hard, down-to-earth kind of job. It is a mean job. It is a disagreeable job, and, if you really mean to get into it, you must be prepared to be pushed around and not appreciated, sometimes by the very people whom you try to help and sometimes by the people who do not want to make progress. The National Conference of Social Work addresses itself to the problem that challenges free men and free institutions all over the world today: How can a people in a free society regulate their relationships, one group to the other, so that they can reduce to a minimum the basic social conflict within that society? All over the world men are trying to find an answer to the question of how we can remain free and yet receive a full measure of security. Hungry and desperate people all over the world look to America for the answer to that problem. They look to us for the answer because they know that we have the tools with which to work, while their factories and their cities are in ruins. We have been saying that the American economy is freedom's greatest asset. What we do with the American economy, how effectively we mobilize it, how intelligently we use its products and how intelligently labor and management, in a spirit of good will, sit down around the bargaining tables in America and find sensible, rational answers to the problems that must be resolved, will be decisive in determining whether or not we are going to find an answer to the question of whether we can be free and have a full measure of economic security in the world.

We have learned that the answer to that question cannot be

found in any of the formulas of the totalitarianism of Fascism or Communism. They offer the promise of economic security and material well-being at the price of spiritual enslavement. On the other hand, we must also recognize with equal clarity that the answer cannot be found in a return to the narrow, stupid, selfish, socially irresponsible kind of Wall Street economics that commits a nation and its people to periodic booms and busts—the kind of economics that says, "We will give you freedom at the price of security." We want a solution that will prove that freedom and bread are compatible and that they can live at peace with one another in the same democratic household. Therefore, we must build a new, democratic, middle approach.

The people in Europe are grateful for the fact that we have given them billions of dollars in food and clothing and machinery; but I have had occasion since the beginning of 1949 to talk to dozens of delegations from all over Europe—people representing workers, religious leaders, educators—and all of them said one thing: "We need food, we need machinery, we need all the material things necessary to rehabilitate our economy, to rebuild our cities." They all said, however, "We need something even more than we need these material things. We need spiritual values, moral values."

When we ship our food and our clothing to Europe we have to send them something else. We have to send them hope, the kind of hope that keeps people going in the dark hours of a troubled world. How can we send that kind of hope to the people of Europe? We can send them the hope that they need as badly as they need the food only if we demonstrate that American democracy has the moral strength and the practical down-to-earth economic and political know-how to solve the problems of everyday people.

Joe Stalin and the Cominform have been beating the propaganda drums all over the world, and they have been telling the people, "America will not show you the way out because they are going to have a depression in America. They've got this tremendous productive machine, unexcelled in this history of mankind; but they don't have the social consciousness to use it intelligently. They lack the social perception that the productive machine is going to break down and they are going to get in trouble." The Cominform knows

that they cannot beat us, and so they are sitting back, counting on our beating ourselves. Frankly, there are factors developing in America which, if we do not face them realistically, may give substance to the Cominform's propaganda. We may provide Joe Stalin with the ace in the hole that he is counting on.

There are 3,500,000 unemployed workers in America. There are people in high places in industry who say that that is not too many, that we can have 6,000,000 before the situation becomes serious. But if you happen to be a wage earner, and you are numbered among the 3,500,000, the fact that there are not 5,000,000 does not in any way subtract from your problem. Depressions are man-made. What man made he can unmake. We have to face the simple fact that if we get into another depression this time as we did in 1929, we are going to lose more than our jobs and our homes and our farms. This time we may lose our freedom.

We shall not solve the basic social conflict between labor and management until we get at the causes of insecurity out of which that conflict grows. It has been said that the conflict in America is between planning and no planning. The basic conflict in America is not planning versus no planning, but between two kinds of planning—between privately planned economic scarcity for profit, or publicly planned economic abundance for people. Those who preach that private planning is the only kind of planning that we ought to tolerate have had their time in history. They told us in 1928 that if the government did not interfere in the economic sphere, we could march steadily on to the promised land and we would bask in perpetual economic sunshine. There was no government in business in 1928, and the people who advocated this philosophy as the solution to our problems were completely in the saddle. Yet one year later our house came tumbling down upon us, and we suffered 14,000,000 unemployed, chaos, and human catastrophe.

The events of 1929 can happen again in 1949. We have 3,500,000 unemployed today for the same reason that we had 14,000,000 unemployed following the crash of 1929. The year 1928 was a good year. We kept the bubble going, inflating it more by installment buying, and then it collapsed. The year 1948 was a good year. We kept going then by spending wartime saving reserves. But we are

getting into trouble because the current earnings of the people are not sufficient to afford the wealth that American industries and American farms can create. We have to find an answer. Labor and management must find the answer and get our economy back in balance. They must see that wages and prices and profits are balanced, that purchasing power begins to match productive power.

Management and labor must demonstrate that kind of leadership and statesmanship that will accept on a voluntary basis the social responsibility that goes with that leadership, or by default we will turn it over to the agents of the superstates. In a free society there are no substitutes for the voluntary acceptance of joint responsibility between labor and management. Labor and management must work at the simple task of creating the kind of practical social mechanisms that will apply and broaden democratic processes in the economic sphere. I think nothing would be so helpful as to get a management-labor-farmer-government conference in Washington. Get the leadership of these social economic groups down there, and lay these basic problems before them. Say to them as men of good will, "Let's see you tackle this problem on a voluntary basis and find an answer as Americans must find an answer." Labor and management must demonstrate the capacity to raise collective bargaining above the status of a power conflict between economic pressure groups. Collective bargaining must be a rational, democratic process of give-and-take based upon economic facts, not economic power. Labor and management have to accept the very simple fact that while they fight for their special interests, the interest of the community and the interest of the nation transcend either of those special interests. They have to demonstrate this because there is no other answer except for labor and management to grow up to that joint responsibility.

Labor has a right to make progress. Management has a right to make progress. But they have a right to make progress only when their progress is a part of the total progress of the whole community. That is why we have said over and over again that basic economic decisions must be made upon economic facts, not based upon economic power.

Upon what we do with those economic facts depends the kind of

tomorrow we shall fashion for ourselves and our children. In 1948 all American corporations made, before taxes, \$32,800,000,000 in profits. After taxes, they made \$20,100,000,000. They made more than five times the amount of profit after taxes that they made for the average period before the war. That is why we are getting in trouble—because profits are too high, and a portion of those profits is not finding its way into the purchasing power stream of our economic life. Since the first quarter of 1946 profits have risen 131 percent and wages 31 percent.

They tell us in school, and I studied economics in school, that the law of supply and demand is the thing that regulates the price structure. That makes good sense in textbooks, but it does not work that way. Industry, instead of cutting prices in order to maintain full production, is cutting production. That is true of the steel industry, where production fell from 102 percent to 86 percent in a period of a few weeks. The *New York Times* has predicted that production will go down to 75 percent in the basic steel industry, which is the core of the American economy. In the woolens industry, with the jobbers bidding in New York City for wool for the coming season, the price of woolen goods is a full 40 percent above the Office of Price Administration figure, but production is down 40 percent. The American Woolens Mill, the biggest producer, has announced an increase of ten cents per yard on fourteen of its major items. What does this mean? This means that our productive power is getting out of balance with our consuming power, and we must get it back into the proper relationship.

We are going into collective bargaining negotiations, and it is not very practical and it is not very helpful to discuss all these problems in terms of generalities. We are dealing with real problems in a real world. We will be sitting down across the bargaining table in the auto industry; Philip Murray will be sitting across the bargaining table in the steel industry; and negotiations will be going on in the electrical industry and the coal industry and many other industries. We are going to deal with these problems, not theoretically, but actually. There are people in America who believe that all one has to do to achieve industrial stability is to pass a piece of legislation called the Taft-Hartley Act. We said a long time ago that the Taft-

Hartley Act would fail because it proposed a negative approach to problems that require positive solutions. In a police state you can achieve industrial stability without justice, but in a society of free men, industrial stability must come as a by-product of economic and social justice.

Let us look at the demands of the automobile workers. In the light of these two standards, an economic standard and a moral standard, the auto workers are asking for a minimum pension of \$100 a month when they are too old to work and too young to die. We say that a person who has worked twenty-five years in the industry ought to have some measure of security in his old age. He ought to live in dignity, in security, having made his contribution to society.

I wish that the basic industries in this country had the enlightened management point of view that the clothing industry has on these basic questions; in that case, we would not have this problem. Men like Sidney Hillman and the men who have led the Hart Schaffner and Marx firm in Chicago have made a great contribution to the broadening of democratic processes in the field of labor and management coöperation.

But I am talking about the great giants in American industry—the great monopolies, the billion-dollar corporations who employ 300,000 and 400,000 workers directly. They set the pattern in America. When we sit down across the bargaining table with them and say, "Here is Joe Smith who has worked thirty-some years for your corporation. He's too old to work, he can't meet the speed of the line, but he's too young to die. Isn't he entitled to some measure of security in his old age. Didn't he contribute to the wealth of this corporation?" They reply, "Here you come again with some of your fancy social values."

We told those management people that in 1949 we are going to start to change what we call the "double standard" in American industry. C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors Corporation, is a highly paid executive. In 1948 he was paid \$516,000 in salary and bonus, not to count what he received as stock dividends. The people who say "No," a worker is not entitled to a pension plan, the fellows who sit on the board of directors at General Motors Corporation—

they looked at Mr. Wilson's salary of \$516,000 and they said that Wilson is going to have a hard time when he is too old to work and too young to die because he cannot lay any of it aside. So when he is too old to work and too young to die, the board of directors have decided, he will get a pension of \$25,000 every year for the rest of his life. We say that that is a double standard, that it is economically stupid and morally indefensible.

If you get \$516,000 and you do not need a pension, they give you one. If you get \$3,000 and you need one, they say you cannot have it. That just does not make sense.

They think that when we talk about the annual wage we are having another pipe dream. But just between you and me, someday American industry and American labor are going to have to meet the problem of the annual wage. It is not only a matter of economic justice for the worker, but a matter of economic necessity to the nation's economy. How can we maintain a full production economy unless the people have an annual wage that will enable them to consume the products of a full production economy? But here again we get the double standard. If you are paid \$516,000 a year they pay it by the year, and if you get \$1.60 an hour they pay it by the hour. That means your pay stops when they lay you off. When a worker is laid off and has the problem of meeting his rent, his food bill, and his doctor bill, he goes to the office of some social work organization and talks about his problem. If we could only put those workers into a deep freezer until we needed them again it would be very simple, but we cannot do it.

I say to you industry people that when God made us, He made us all alike, and we thank Him for that. When He made the children of the corporation executives He made them just exactly as He made the children of the workers. He ordained that they should all have a chance in life to be strong in mind and body, to become useful citizens in a society of free men. If He had willed it otherwise He would have made the children of the workers differently. It would have been a simple mechanical problem. He would have made the children of the executives just as He did make them—on the basis that the little stomachs would have to be fed every day, 365 days in the year—and that is as it should be. But He would have

made the stomachs of the worker's children a little smaller, with a little switch on the side; and when the worker is laid off, he could turn the switch off, and they would not have to eat until he turned it on again.

These are the problems that we must deal with in America. They are not hypothetical. They are not theoretical. They are not textbook problems. They are real problems dealing with real people and with little kids with smiles on their faces or tears in their eyes.

In 1948 corporations made 51 percent more profits after taxes than they made in 1947, and when we compare the first quarter of 1949 with the first quarter of 1948, it is clear that they are going to make 35 percent more in 1949 than they made in 1948. And do you know how much they made? They made 28 percent on their investment after taxes.

General Motors always leads the way. They made last year, one company, \$801,000,000 in profits before taxes and they made \$440,000,000 after taxes. In 1949 their profits are up 55 percent over 1948 for the first quarter of 1949 and, based upon the first quarter of 1949 and projected on an annual basis, they will make a return of 55 percent on their investment before taxes, or 33 percent on their investment after taxes. That is not bad: in three years they get it all back and still own it. Are we not right in saying that the people of America who control the industries and create the wealth out of which these profit figures flow have an inescapable social responsibility to their employees and to the general community in these United States? They cannot escape that responsibility. The problem is that the same people who say "No" at the bargaining table say, "Why don't you do it in Washington?" and we say, "Well, let's try that avenue." We go down to Washington and every place we go we find lobbyists blocking us, hired by the same management people who said "No" at the conference table. Now, they must make up their minds. We prefer to do it over the bargaining table, through collective bargaining on a voluntary basis, but if they try to block us in both places they are asking for trouble, because free men have a right to security and they are going to get it by one means or another.

It seems to me that we must renew our faith in basic human

values in America. The danger, and it is a growing danger, is the serious cultural lag between progress in the physical sciences and the lack of comparable progress in the social and human sciences. It is little consolation to one of the workers numbered among the 3,500,000 unemployed if he knows that we know how to split the atom. It is little consolation for him to read in the newspaper that we know how to make a jet-propelled ship that goes faster than sound. Other people will judge us, and we must judge ourselves, not by our technical progress, not by the fact that we know how to split the atom, but by our ability to translate technical progress into human values, into terms of human dignity, human progress, and human happiness.

Democracy is often long on its promises and short on its results. In the housing field we have a good example. How many fewer problems would social workers have if we had decent, wholesome communities instead of slums? The trouble is that we are mixed up in America. We can get appropriations automatically out of a general budget to build houses of correction. What we ought to do is to build fewer houses of correction and more correct houses.

We entrust the youth of America, our most valuable asset, to an educational system that is broken down and overcrowded. We abolished all the swing shifts in our factories when the war was over but we still have swing shifts in the Detroit schools, crowded school-houses, firetraps, underpaid schoolteachers. I suppose that the schoolteachers are the most underpaid group in America outside social workers. We must begin to do something about the school system. We must expand social security, increase the benefits and expand the coverage. We must have a national health program. We must remove the economic barriers to get help, and I speak as an authority. I spent five months in four different hospitals this past eighteen months: you have to be a millionaire to be sick in America today. We have to do something about civil rights. We have to do something about a minimum wage of forty cents an hour. Tell me how you feed a family with prices up in the stratosphere. And yet there are people in Washington, making their speeches on the hill and saying that is enough. I have a very simple solution. We think it ought to be a dollar an hour minimum. We

do not know how a man can live on less than forty dollars a week if he works forty hours. We think that all the people in Congress who think that forty cents is enough ought to be requested to try to feed their families for a couple of weeks on forty cents an hour. I bet you that they would then be glad to raise it to two dollars an hour!

The trouble in America is that people are willing to do things in support of negative values. We have to find a way to get people aroused and fighting and working hard for positive values. The same kind of Congressional mentality voted \$400,000,000,000 for war, for the negative end of war, for the destruction of life, but when they are called upon to spend a few billion dollars to make life better in peace, they say, "We can't afford it." I keep telling the auto workers, "I sat down there during the war and watched the Appropriations Committee's big 24-inch pipe line. The Army and the Navy would say, 'Give us bombers, and battleships and tanks,' and they'd open up this 24-inch pipe line and billions would flow through for war. Then you say, 'Give us decent housing, give us education, give us social security, give us the things that make life worth while for America.' They don't open up the 24-inch pipe line; they go to the Congressional medicine cabinet in the back room and get out an eye dropper."

We have the tools of abundance, that is what makes our problem different from that of England, different from France, different from Italy, different from any other country in the world; because they are struggling with the sheer problem of creating sufficient wealth, and we have the problem of having the tools of abundance. We need a fifth basic freedom in America, freedom from the fear of abundance. They are afraid to turn loose the productive machine in peacetime to meet the needs of people. I say that this is the time when we should not listen to men of little faith, the same weak voices in the wilderness who proposed "too little, too late," to meet the challenge of war. We ought to take on the task of mobilizing the people, the resources, and all the productive power of America, through teamwork of labor and management and government—mobilize these human and material resources fully and completely for the positive ends of peace as we did for the negative ends of war.

We who share a fuller measure of freedom than any people in the whole world must avoid making the mistakes of accepting freedom as a luxury to enjoy. Those who possess freedom in this troubled world must accept the responsibility that goes with freedom, full-strength responsibility in the weapons to fight with and the tools to build with. We can build a better world in which man can live at peace with his neighbor, in which human dignity and the spiritual values that make men great can grow and flower, where we can achieve the kind of world society where people can have both bread and freedom and can live in dignity according to the rules of the brotherhood of man.

Coöperation of Church and Social Work

By *FRANK L. WEIL*

EVERY GOAL of social work is stated in either the Old or the New Testament. "Religion is the search for, and the realization of, the highest conceivable social values."¹ Social work has the same broad objective. Religion and modern social work are both concerned with the personality of man. Both deal with the whole man. Social work says that man is of intrinsic worth because he is man. Religion says that man is of intrinsic worth because he has a soul, is a child of God, and God is Father. Religion aims to ennoble mankind by providing guidance through teaching the good life. It is the traditional instrumentality for rallying man to support the principles of right, decency, justice, and kindness. It can be the "most powerful agency in stirring and directing the collective will of mankind." Social work, when it influences social action, has the same objective. Social work, as organized and practiced today, had its inspiration in the teachings and prophecy of religion and the activities of the church. "All social service originated in the church."² It "is a child of the church; its origins are in the church; its motivation still springs from essentially religious sources."³

It would be unwise to assume, however, that because religion and social work have the same goals of the good life, there is full co-operation between social work and the church. The subject has been discussed at earlier conferences of the National Conference of

¹ Edward Scribner Ames, *Religion* (New York: Holt, 1929).

² Charles H. Brent, "The Relation of Social Work to the Church," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1921), p. 43.

³ Robert H. MacRae, "Introductory Remarks," *Social Services under Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant Auspices in the Total Welfare System; Proceedings of the Great Lakes Institute* (New York: Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc., 1948), p. 1.

Social Work. In 1913, Dr. McKelway, speaking before the Conference, said: "Religion has a contribution to make to those who cannot expect social justice in their generation, and social workers should not be so concerned with physical welfare that they neglect the spiritual."⁴ In 1937, Rabbi James Heller pointed out: "To the religious, it has seemed often that social work has moved toward an evermore intense secularism; that it has made an unnatural schism between body and spirit."⁵

It would be an oversimplification of the problem of the apparent differences that divide the church and social work to consider that the difficulty arises out of a lack of religious convictions of practitioners in social work agencies. It would be an equally inadequate analysis of the situation to attribute to the church a lack of regard for the validity of social work techniques, or a challenge of its function in dealing with problems of individuals. It is true that some social workers have little active contact with the church. It is likewise true that some churches resent the intervention of social workers in personal or family problems that in the past were the province of religious ministration and counsel. But the fact is that the vast majority of social workers have no antagonism to the church. A very large number are employed by church organizations, for the church and its derivative or allied bodies are very largely engaged in social service activities:

Perhaps the most notable recent developments in the history of the church are those associated with social activity and philanthropy. Socio-religious organizations, such as the YMCA . . . have grown markedly in membership, in financial resources and in expenditures since 1900. The churches are spending more money than ever before in maintaining schools, orphanages, hospitals and other forms of charitable enterprise.⁶

The alienation of church and social work may be attributed in large measure to the fact that training for social work in the estab-

⁴ A. J. McKelway, "The Conference Sermon," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Fort Wayne Printing Co., 1913), p. 21.

⁵ James G. Heller, "Common Social Objectives of Religion, Education, and Social Work," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 284.

⁶ Harry Elmer Barnes, *Social Institutions* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1942), p. 711.

lished schools for social work, other than those under church auspices, is tied to those social sciences that claim little connection with religious philosophy. I am advised that a discussion occurred recently in a committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work with representatives of some of the schools of social work concerning cultural factors in social work and the recognition by social work schools of the relevance of religion to social work. According to the information which I have received, the schools were at that time confronted with the fact that their curricula did not include material on social work and religion. The rejoinder of some of the schools was that while they did not have courses by that title, reference was made to religious factors in the content of some of the teaching.

It is obviously difficult to assess the extent to which this is the case. I am inclined to think that this matter is not receiving appropriate attention from the schools. However, I had an examination made of the most recent catalogues of nine of the schools for the purpose of examining the course descriptions which were listed to determine, if possible, whether any of them, though not bearing the title "Social Work and Religion," did contain reference to religion and social work. This check revealed that the catalogues of Columbia, Tulane, Western Reserve, Boston, the University of Illinois and the University of Minnesota not only lacked courses dealing directly with social work and religion, but also did not refer to such relationship at any point in the description of any of the courses offered. The University of Pennsylvania, in a course on "Historical Backgrounds of Social Work Philosophy and Practice," refers to religious origins. The University of Southern California, in the description of the course on "Social Case Work Principles in Counseling," refers to pastoral counseling. The University of Pittsburgh, in the description of a course on "Cultural Problems in Social Work," refers to the role of the church.

It is obvious from these statements that such treatment as is afforded the topic of religion and social work in these courses is very limited so far as descriptive data is concerned. I do not have reports on the content of courses as taught.

In a sense, we find here a phase of the larger, historic conflict

between science and religion. Just as the physical or natural sciences developed independently of the church, when the process of decentralization in human knowledge set in, so did the social sciences, particularly anthropology, sociology, biology, and psychology develop independently of the church. The learnings from the social sciences have been synthesized to provide the philosophical basis of much of the current teaching for the field of social work, in its endeavor, as Barnes puts it, "of finding out just what forms of conduct produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number."⁷ He goes on to state that in recent times, "Socially minded psychiatrists and educators were the first to provide, through mental hygiene, a concerted and well-organized effort to get at the facts essential to the formulation of any valid code for individual and social conduct."⁸ He states further, in defining the role of religion and the social sciences: "The social sciences and esthetics would supply specific guidance as to what ought to be done; religion would produce the emotional motive power essential to the translation of abstract theory into practical action."⁹

Thus would the line be drawn between the functions of religion and the social sciences. Others see the situation differently. Lindsay comments:

Now that we study closely and carefully the diseases of the mind and have a regular science and practitioners of psychiatry, do we not recognize how much more subtle and dangerous a matter it is? For there is no such simple norm of a healthy mind as of a healthy body. . . . To put men and women right in their way of life, so that they can be freed from the dissatisfaction and uselessness which is troubling them, is an even more delicate and difficult exercise of power than the cure of mental disease.¹⁰

The attainment of the common goals of religion and social work, for the good life, depends, therefore, on a clear understanding of the function of both in relation to the individual, upon recognition of the indivisibility in the man of his religious background and the other factors that affect him. The methods of religion and of the

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 703.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 708-9.

⁹ Alexander Dunlop Lindsay, *Religion, Science and Society in the Modern World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), pp. 68-69.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 706.

social sciences are dissimilar, but in the approach to the individual they complement each other. The one provides the basis for organizing knowledge useful to social work. The other provides faith and moral aspiration, the response to the human need for hope, for perfection. An understanding of both sets of forces, those which lend themselves to scientific inquiry and method and those of the spirit, is essential equipment for the work of the church and of social service when they deal with problems of individuals and families.

The lack of such understanding by some church workers and some social workers has often interfered with the full utilization of the church and social agencies as community resources. On the one hand, to quote Robert H. MacRae, "The ministry is often hostile to social work because ministers see the social worker filling the role of counsellor to the flock, a role which was once the province of the minister and one which the ministry wants to occupy."¹¹ On the other hand, social workers often feel that pastoral counseling is not sufficiently grounded in knowledge of the social sciences and the methods of social work; that there is not sufficient understanding to identify a personality problem of the individual or the nature of a family problem. Hence there is lack of referral from church to social agency, and vice versa.

The blockings to coöperation of church and social work, whether they derive from differences in basic philosophy or method, need to be dealt with in the interests of the common good. In a sense, it is true that "if religion is prophecy, then social service, its executive arm, is priesthood" and the profession of social service is "the profession of priesthood in modern society."¹² In many church organizations, the two functions are combined. In other instances, and they are growing in number in our society, there is decentralization of the functions. But whatever specialization takes place, the needs of individuals, groups, and communities require that the social work organizations and the churches coöperate in meeting the needs.

¹¹ MacRae, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹² Abba Hillel Silver, *Religion in a Changing World* (New York: Smith, 1931), p. 80.

There is encouraging evidence of collaboration in many local communities. The same may be said of the situation nationally. The National Social Welfare Assembly, for example, has among its members national bodies representing the church as well as the principal national lay social work organizations, both private and public. They coöperate in a continuing program whenever co-operation is feasible. In recent years we have witnessed perhaps the most dramatic and certainly a very general demonstration of large-scale coöperation between the social work forces and the church, in service to the men and women in the armed forces. Hundreds of communities united in such service, organizing all their resources, including the churches in a program that drew its inspiration from the highest ideals and best practice of religion and social work. Churches are constantly involved and frequently provide the leadership in local and national fund-raising campaigns in behalf of the distressed and needy victim of the war, in every sense a social service undertaking.

Such examples of coöperation lend support to the validity of seeking an expansion of the working relationships between the church and social work for the tasks that lie ahead. For in our imperfect world there is an infinity of opportunities to improve the common life. Some problems loom up as of immediate importance to the joint concern of church and social work. First, there is, for example, the task of achieving a lasting peace and building a community of nations. The phenomenon of two cataclysmic world wars in one generation is interpreted on the one hand as a failure of the influence of religious teaching, and on the other hand as a disparity between the advances in the natural sciences and the social sciences. The forces of nature have been controlled and put to work to produce technological knowledge that has caused vast destruction, because no corresponding control has been achieved over the nature of man. Both the church, the instrument of religious teaching, and social work, which has based its disciplines on the social sciences, are being challenged. We need not discuss the validity of the criticism, certainly not the imputation that the reasons for the two world conflicts may be defined in the simple terms of failure of religion and social science. But to the extent that a moral crisis is

revealed in the current discussions centering around the threat of another war and the possibility of destruction of masses of human beings with the new and terrifying instruments produced by technology, there is a basis for serious concern by the forces of religion and social work, since both are dedicated to the preservation of human values. In the words of a contemporary writer: "In a world which wanted above all, the scientific mind in the service of the merciful heart, the merciful heart became sentimental and the scientific mind indifferent."¹³ The problem argues urgently for collaboration in strategy and program by both.

Secondly, we need also to recognize the existence of another great contemporary human struggle, the struggle for the preservation of the democratic way of life. As we view the problem, we find again that social work and religion have a common stake in the outcome and a joint responsibility in the task itself. There is no difference of basic purpose between the forces of religion and social work as to the essentials of democracy and the blessings of freedom. Social work and religion recognize the responsibility of man for man, of society for the individual, of the virtue of the common life and the common good. Both abhor totalitarian control of human beings as a violation of the integrity of man, created in the image of God. Both are founded on the perfectibility of man and upon freedom for creative living. The church and social work, in the main, represent voluntary association of free individuals. "When in any society there is no longer a vital function to be performed by private institutions and agencies, democracy itself will have been liquidated."¹⁴ Under our system, voluntary organizations, especially those dedicated to a high social purpose, are essential to the maintenance of the spirit of democracy and constitute the undergirding of the democratic state. They offer experience in democratic living and in the development of responsible leadership. This develops not only from the emphasis on the voluntary character of the church and of private social service agencies, but from the use of volunteers in the work itself. Freedom to organize for religious and social service

¹³ Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁴ Eduard C. Lindeman, "The Volunteer-Democracy's Indispensable Asset," paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, 1946; copy obtainable upon application to the author, New York School of Social Work.

purposes is not all that we mean by a voluntary organization. It includes also freedom and the opportunity for creative service, the kind of freedom to do for others which is the religious conception of freedom. In this age of professionalization, the essential role of the active volunteer in social work is at times minimized. The volunteer tasks today, those that give genuine personal satisfaction, require training. It is the responsibility of social work to provide the training, so that the volunteer inspired by ideals of service can be an effective volunteer. Certainly this calls for a combining of the powers of motivation to service exercised by the church and the skill of social work. Coöperative effort of this character will mean the strengthening of voluntarism as a bulwark of our democratic system of free institutions.

The role of religion and social work is not nearly so much to combat authoritarianism or totalitarianism directly. That is an obligation of all citizens in a democracy, of a great number of organizations in the community, and of the state itself. It is rather to make democracy and freedom meaningful to all, by striving constantly for the improvement of conditions of living so that democratic living becomes equated with the highest common good, the greatest happiness for the greatest number.

Thirdly, in our democratic system, the unit of society where democracy has its practical expression for most of the population is the local community. Our country grows in democratic functioning as the localities develop democratically. The intervention of the national government in local life generally takes place only when it becomes necessary to correct inequalities in standards of opportunity for citizens. The improvement in local community life is another major task in which the church and social work may unite. For it is in the locality that social work operates in largest measure. It serves individuals and groups in a specific locality in relation to their needs, and some of the basic needs are determined by the local situation and local conditions. Churches also, while they may be members of a larger communion, extending beyond a particular geographical locality, are at the same time local institutions, with a local membership or following, with local facilities and locally financed. They are what is known in social work terminology as a

"local community resource." They can be and frequently are effective influences in the social, civic, and educational life of the community. They can make a maximum contribution, individually or through local church councils and ministerial associations, when they join with social work groups in local councils of social agencies or similar bodies devoted to the enhancement and integration of community life.

Fourthly, there is a growing awareness in America of a developing critical situation with respect to family life. In this area of social concern lies another opportunity for coöperation between the church and social work. Both have a deep and historic interest in preserving the integrity of the family. The strain which modern civilization, especially in the cities, places upon families, the weakening of traditions and time-tried standards, has given rise to tensions and to irritations that urgently require the service of a wise counselor. The experienced social worker will seek the aid of all who can be helpful, particularly the minister, the doctor, and, where necessary, the psychiatrist. In instances of maladjustment and unhappiness, we have learned that much teamwork is often required, for the problems are sometimes so complex that no one person may have all the wisdom to diagnose the difficulty and provide the treatment. The church and the several disciplines of social work may need to be involved.

The task of strengthening family life should not be viewed in its pathological manifestations alone. It is a basic, continuous job, resting fundamentally on appreciation of spiritual and social values. Social work needs to recognize more widely the preventive role of the church in safeguarding and giving meaning to the values of family life. The church is one of the few influences that are available in modern society for maintaining family unity. It functions as an integrating force, not only through family attendance at church services, but also through the various religious ceremonies that are associated with the lives of children, young people, and adults as members of the family group. Much of the social and cultural program centers around the interests of families. Group activities in churches frequently offer a richer experience in group living by reason of the added religious influence of the church. The church

can indeed be a valuable ally in the service of maintaining the values of family life in society.

Thus, in every major area of human activity—the task of achieving a lasting peace and building a community of nations, the struggle for the preservation of the democratic way of life, the improvement in local community life, and the strengthening of family life—in every effort to realize the good life, there lie before us many opportunities for coöperative service. The extent to which collaboration develops effectively depends largely upon a recognition of common responsibility and a true appreciation of the role of the church and of social work. Working together, they are strong partners in the preservation of human values, the safeguarding of our liberty, and the amelioration of many of the ills that beset our troubled society.

DISCUSSIONS

I. *By CECELIA McGOVERN*

FROM THE POINT of view of the Catholic religion and its relationship to social work, let me reiterate Frank L. Weil's statement that, "The attainment of the common goals of religion and social work, for the good life, depends, therefore, on a clear understanding of the function of both in relation to the individual, upon recognition of the indivisibility in the man of his religious background and the other factors that affect him."

The Catholic religion is a dogmatic religion with a definite creed and a clear moral code. The bishops and priests are the divinely appointed teachers of the Church and ministers of the sacraments. Therefore, matters of faith and morals belong exclusively to the domain of the priesthood, the functioning body of the Church. In the relationship of the Catholic Church to social work, there is for the most part no conflict. Both present very different and definite functions. Social work as such is not religion, but rather it is an expression of the virtue of charity. From the client's standpoint the

priest is the obvious confidant and counselor in the reception of the sacraments and the proper practice of piety and exercise of devotions. In this realm, the social worker would not presume to substitute for the priest.

There is an area, however, where both social worker and priest are involved, and the work of each overlaps because the client's problem is either basically moral or religious with emotional connotations, or it may be fundamentally a psychological problem with spiritual involvement. In such cases there is need for a greater definition of the role of the priest and the social worker. There has been in the past and still is some misunderstanding that each is attempting to encroach upon the province of the other. However, the development of scientific social work and improvement in personnel standards and in the caliber of workers in the casework ranks, together with a clarification of the function of the social worker, have done much to reduce hostility toward the profession. Similarly, the gradual enlightenment of the priests concerning the aims, techniques, and functions of the professional social worker has promoted understanding and appreciation of the contribution of professional casework to the happiness and adjustment of the individual.

Young priests today are recognizing more and more the emotional implications underlying the spiritual problems of their people. Caseworkers are increasingly conscious of what Mr. Weil has termed "the indivisibility in man of his religious background and the other factors that affect him." It is recognized as an injustice to the client to underestimate the force which his religion exerts upon him. In the early stages of development, psychiatry and casework tended to brush aside the importance of religion. Today there is an increased awareness on the part of qualified caseworkers as well as psychiatrists that problems of individuals cannot be solved merely on the material and emotional level. The Catholic social worker, even as the priest, is concerned with the whole person, not only with his natural but also with his supernatural destiny. Therefore, in the treatment process, the Catholic social worker is of necessity concerned with the spiritual as well as the sentient, physical, and intellectual life.

In offering treatment to the adulterer, the alcoholic, or the delinquent the social worker can help to unravel the puzzle and bring repressed emotions and unconscious conflicts into the field of consciousness. She cannot offer complete emotional adjustment without consideration of the individual's spiritual life. Likewise, unless the priest recognizes the fact that many moral problems have psychic origins his spiritual counseling may fail. For example, a deeply troubled married woman may reveal to a priest outside the confessional that she is carrying on an extramarital affair. She knows it is wrong and that it has far-reaching and damaging effects on her family. If the priest only expounds on the seriousness of the sin and obtains the promise that the affair will not continue, the result may be that the woman promises and makes a valiant attempt, but soon lapses back to her old habits. If she is then reproached because of her lack of will power and there is no attempt to uncover the reasons for her behavior, insight is lacking, and the client suffers.

While considering the relationship between the priest and the social worker, I should like to stress briefly the importance of confidentiality in the whole casework process. Many individuals who need casework services hesitate to approach social agencies because of the fear of revelation of their problems and reluctance to having their story recorded. The priest is consulted because the confidentiality of the confessional is associated with him even in an informal interview. Therefore, it is very important that the priest recognize the validity of the casework process and have sufficient understanding of it to know which individuals need to be referred for treatment. He is in a position to interpret to the potential client the fact that professional caseworkers have standards similar to his own in the area of ethics and respect the rights of the individual by guarding all personal information. The fact could be pointed out that in using the social service index social agencies are now swinging back to the position of requesting permission from the client before registering his case. The burden of responsibility rests with the social worker to outline her own functions more clearly for the priest and minister. Many are not clear as to just what the social worker offers the individual in specific cases. If the priest does not know the nature of the therapy that is available through the social

work profession he cannot use the services correctly and when the client most needs help.

The interest of the clergy in mental hygiene problems in recent years has tended to draw them closer to social work and the recognition and diagnosis of human drives. It is most important that this interest be encouraged because it becomes increasingly evident to caseworkers and psychiatrists alike that the majority of individuals seeking help because of mental problems reveal that fundamental ethical principles are involved in their conflicts. Basic problems of family life and difficulties producing marital discord can be shown in case after case to have their roots in religious conflict. Therefore, it is imperative that caseworkers be well grounded in their knowledge of religious beliefs so that they are competent to discuss these points freely with clients for therapeutic reasons.

Mr. Weil mentions instances of coöperation on a national level between representatives of the church and social work organizations, both private and public. Recently we have seen this coöperation in the area of actual practice, with Protestant and Catholic chaplains agreeing to the need for clarification of the role of the chaplain in children's institutions, homes for the aged, and mental hospitals. There has been considerable change during the last decade in the thinking of chaplains in children's institutions regarding their function. Formerly, it was confined to, and often confused with, administration, but now the chaplain sees himself as a specialist in the institutional program, as a counselor working with individual boys and girls and collaborating with the social worker in the treatment process.

Mr. Weil emphasizes the need for coöperation between the church and social work for the preservation of the democratic way of life. He strenuously stresses the fact that voluntary organizations under our democratic system are essential and he points to the need for greater use of the volunteer and the responsibility of social work to provide training for the volunteer.

It is the belief of the social work profession that there is need both for strong governmental and voluntary agencies serving people who are unable to solve their problems without social work help. In order to carry out this purpose, the profession is dependent upon

public support. Therefore, the profession has an obligation to share with the public its special knowledge, in order to awaken greater interest in the public mind. The profession has become increasingly aware of the contribution that volunteers can make, and in many of our large cities, volunteer bureaus have been set up by councils of social agencies.

In the history of the Catholic Church there has always been a strong voluntary movement. Consequently, the most natural resource from which to draw volunteers is to be found in the various church groups. They represent a reservoir of social work man power.

It has become evident to those of us who have been engaged in social work on a national level that the volume of social problems is so great that professional social workers can never hope to cover the vast expanse of Christian charity. The professional social worker needs the volunteer. Catholic social agencies are coming more and more to appreciate this fact and are providing adequate in-service training programs to enhance the contribution of the volunteer.

I certainly can concur with Mr. Weil that the church has always been the bulwark in fostering the democratic way of life and helping the government and the people to meet its responsibilities to individuals. The democratic order differs from the totalitarian order in that the individual is of primary importance and the government is set up to serve the individual. This is the way of life that we, the church and the social work profession, coöperatively want to protect and preserve.

II. By CHARLES TAFT

WE ARE FACING a world which is definitely secular. Now, that has two kinds of meaning. I am not thinking so much of the specialized form of that problem involved in the advocacy of the type of philosophy which is basically antireligious. There is that too in many of

our educational institutions. Perhaps it is not quite fair that it should have its full opportunity for vigorous advocacy when all of us agree that the teaching of secular religion should not be admitted in those institutions. But it does seem to me that when you are discussing this problem you had better begin by examining your own convictions about religion, whether or not you believe in God, believe that there is an answer in religion to the relation between God and man and from that to answer to the relation between man and man. You then simply become concerned subjectively in the question as to whether those fundamental beliefs are being transmitted to a succeeding generation, because those fundamental beliefs are certainly one of the two major foundations of Western civilization. Both those foundations, the Jewish Christian foundation and the Greco-Roman tradition, are pretty well lost out of our public educational system. There may be argument about that so far as the subjective proposition is concerned, but when we come to the question as to whether social workers can deal with the problems of people, as Cecelia McGovern has stated so effectively, without understanding religion and all the various types of religion, then it seems to me that you are starting on a perfectly hopeless task.

Those who belong to churches, it is said, amount to 57 percent, according to the last census. Whether that statistic is exactly accurate or not, it is perfectly clear that since the figure has moved up from about 6 percent in 1800, there has been an increasing applicability of religion in the lives of our people. How in the world we can approach the problem of those individuals and families without understanding that I do not see.

Frank L. Weil has been most helpful in advocating that there should be a solid grounding, and objective grounding if you please, in the fundamentals of religion in preparation for social work. Since that has certainly been studied in our general education, I see no reason why the principles of some of those conclusions should not be applied to education for social work. The Council of Education appointed a very distinguished committee, including the official representatives of all three faiths, to consider this question. They presented a report about a year and a half ago in which they made certain suggestions. I am not altogether certain that it is pos-

sible to tell from the outline of a set of courses how much religion is involved, how much general religious information is involved, in the actual teaching of those courses, as Mr. Weil admitted. The question came up in connection with general education in a town just outside South Bend. The schools did not have released-time religious education, but the superintendent discussed with the ministerial association the amount of religion that was actually included in the courses that they gave and then made a careful study of it. And even he, who was certain that it was considerable, was quite surprised by the amount that was included in the general courses. So I suspect that there is a good deal of religion taught in schools of social work; and yet, it seems to me equally clear that that is not enough. There needs to be a specific study of what is involved. That proposal was endorsed by that distinguished committee. Father Hochwalt was one member, and Ernest Johnson, of the staff of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, was another, and a representative, whose name I do not remember, from the Synagogue Council was a third. They suggested that it was perfectly possible and very desirable, if the community could agree, as you certainly could in a school of social work, to include all relevant material bearing on religion in general within courses of other kinds.

Their second suggestion was that clearly the churches as institutions are part of the social fabric of the community and that if a group of children were to be taken to the Procter and Gamble plant in Cincinnati, or to the Thompson products plant in Cleveland, and be escorted through in order to see what an industrial plant is like, or if they should visit other social institutions in the community, there was every reason why they should also be taken to each different type of religious institution that exists in a community and should be given a basic description of what it is and of its effect and tie-in with the rest of the community. Now if that is true of general education, then it seems to me perfectly clear that it is absolutely essential for budding social workers. Such a plan will not be carried out, however, without very definite pressure, because the amount of material that has to go into the educational process these days is perfectly—I was going to say “horrifying.” It is almost

that because one gets so much that it cannot all be absorbed; it just emphasizes the kind of complexity that one has to live in after leaving educational institutions.

I am not sure that I agree altogether with Mr. Weil's comparisons, or rather his statement of similarities, between the church and social work. In the first place, pretty nearly all churches, though they attempt to deal with all economic classes, are neighborhood churches that deal with one economic class, usually in the higher brackets; whereas social work is definitely working with those in need. That is a very definite and clear difference.

In the second place, the church, which is said to be 99 percent lay, is organized as a unit including lay people, even though it is often attacked, and the Protestant churches just as vigorously as the Catholic Church, as being professionalized. You may recall Stanley High's article which appeared a little over two years ago in the *Christian Century*, addressed to me when I had just been elected president of the Federal Council, in which he went after the Protestants as being clergy-ridden—a somewhat unusual approach, but in many ways accurate. Nevertheless, within an individual congregation where there is only one pastor, or two or three at the most, there is a multiplicity of groups doing specific jobs through lay people. The church, then, is a relatively integrated and relatively nonprofessional organization.

Social work is 99 percent professionalized. I agree heartily with all these pious wishes that there be more volunteers but I have been connected with social work a little too long to take that as much more than lip service. Certainly, there is no integration of the case load of one social worker into any kind of a group. It is an individualized operation.

Mr. Weil suggests that religion perhaps is prophecy and the social worker is priest. Religion as prophecy is something that, to my mind at least, needs more of the amateur spirit. Prophecy is wonderful, but the number of prophets are very few. I remember hearing Bishop Berggrav, of Norway, whose face you may remember seeing behind the barbed wire of a concentration camp on the cover of *Time* some four or five years ago, say on this very subject, when it was suggested that the World Council of Churches should strike

a prophetic note, that it was always desirable to give an opportunity for a prophet to speak if he has something to say, but that one never should insist that there must be a prophetic statement from every meeting because it just does not happen. So religion is working on a day-to-day kind of task, perhaps not so different from the day-to-day work of the social worker.

In social work too there is need for the amateur spirit. When we come to the approach to family life there is perhaps greater contact and interrelationship than in any of these other fields. There is certainly a case for recognition on each side for the skills possessed on that particular side, a recognition that is not always too readily given.

Coöperation has taken place on the national scene, although I am not sure that I would describe the collaboration in the USO in quite the terms that Mr. Weil did. I had an opportunity to observe that too. On the one hand, the collaboration in the national organization found itself facing two problems when it attempted to extend itself into the community. In the first place, it found itself dealing with a local situation in which the Catholic bishop had been the top person. He had collaborated in many cases I am sure, but, nevertheless, he was the final authority in his diocese, owing allegiance to no one but the Holy Father, and it was not always easy for him to collaborate in the way that the National Catholic Community Service had been able to work on the national scene. It is true that in most cases the collaboration did eventually come.

On the other hand, in many communities the USO found a ministerial alliance which was also a little suspicious of collaboration, at least with some groups. One of the problems which faced the USO during the entire course of its activity was the question on the part of the churches, the Protestant churches, as to whether or not the YMCA could be really said to represent them. I am not at all sure that on either side those problems were altogether solved by the time the war was over. Do not misunderstand me: I am for even that degree of collaboration. It brought about a greater progress than any similar coöperative effort that we have had, far greater, I assure you, than some others, widely advertised.

As to collaboration in international affairs, I am a little pessi-

mistic. It is difficult now to get intelligent church activity and participation in any effective way in international affairs. The difficulty with both the church and social work in that field is their relative lack of understanding of politics.

This brings me to my final point, Mr. Weil's very interesting discussion of collaboration in democracy. So far as the political end is concerned, I have just suggested that the churches and social work are not fully aware of the basic problems of politics. Our political development of modern democracy has grown in very large part from the experience of the small, independent congregation in the sixteenth and seventeenth century that had to run its own affairs. I do not think that any of us realize the utter lack of that type of experience in some of the nondemocratic countries. I remember hearing Sherwood Eddy say nearly twenty years ago, after many trips to Russia, that the Russians simply did not understand how a small group worked democratically. We are so used to coming into a committee room with eight or ten people, under Robert's rules of order. Somebody makes a motion, and it is seconded, and is debated; somebody makes an amendment, and we defeat the amendment; and then we pass the motion; and then we expect the officers to go out and do it; and then we adjourn. We just take that experience for granted. Yet that is something new since 1600. That process, I say, started with a little, independent, extremely independent, violently independent, religious congregation. The process then had to be applied to a New England town, to a state, to a city, to a nation. It raises very serious problems. How in the world do you reflect the best thought of 140,000,000 people if you have a specific problem like an amendment, a single amendment, of the Taft-Hartley Act or a compromise Fair Employment Practices Committee bill? It is very difficult. How significant is a Gallup poll when you had no free-minded discussion between small groups of people on the subject?

That is the political side of the problem. There is another phase of the problem that I am much more concerned with and which seems to me much more important for the churches and for social work. We assume that in that kind of political organization we have a free vote after a discussion and that we will have a decision

by the majority, and that we will continue with that policy until the minority can persuade the majority to change its mind and become a majority itself. But what do we do when we have to deal with the administration of the United States Government, or the administration of General Motors, or the administration of the chain stores, or of a big social agency? How do we apply democracy then and what are the problems to be faced? There has been a lot of study of that. How much of it has reached the education of either pastors or social workers? Very little, very little. I would say that it is a great reflection on both the church and social work that they are so little familiar with the kind of work that began with the research division of the Harvard University business school under Elton Mayo twenty-five years ago, and has extended now into labor relations institutes at Yale and Chicago and California and Minnesota and many other universities and is gradually becoming an accepted process in operation with industry in the personnel field.

I say also that the churches and social work have not learned that whole theory of authority, the reverse side of social group work, that Chester Barnard sets out, for instance, in his book *The Functions of an Executive*, the idea that authority is something that is not imposed from the top. That is the Russian idea, it is clear from the publicity they have to release every so often about purges in their industrial operation. It does not work their way. Barnard's theory is that authority is essentially the acceptance of those upon whom it is exercised. They are in little groups, little groups of not more than ten or fifteen perhaps, and integration is from one group to another. The Ford Motor Company, in operating under the generally accepted theory of group decision in industry, is said to require that no executive group shall include more than five or six. The question as to whether the teamwork was good is the question as to whether the acceptance of the project or plan or therapy is eager and interested; or whether acceptance is simply a vote of confidence in those who prepare and present the plan; or whether acceptance is reluctant and merely because it is simpler to obey than not to obey. There are all those degrees.

If we want to get effective teamwork in operation in the community in all kinds of organization we must understand all of that.

How far have we actually gone in doing it and how do we get democracy into that process? One answer, it appears to me, at least from my own experience, is this: All of us have sat in a conference on a rather tangled and difficult kind of a problem, and after a clear and open-minded discussion we have come to a conclusion in which everybody agrees and which is different from the point at which any single person began. How did we get there? Well, we do not know, our ideas just grew in that process. That is the fundamentally democratic process. It may be that there was someone presiding, who all alone could have said, "This is the answer, this is what we'll do," but who nevertheless carried the group along until they all felt that they were participating in that result. Thereby he secured the eager and interested acceptance and achieved with it a kind of a security which we have not had very much since our agricultural civilization changed into an urban industrial civilization.

Now, if that is true and if that kind of security, so important for the little fellow way down the line in a big organization, can be achieved in that way, certainly we should know something about it both in the church and in social work. But I suspect that we have not known much. The church, certainly in the minds of its leaders, has been very ready to understand the problem of the person at the top who has the power of decision which will affect the lives of other people. It is a matter of our common terminology. Lord Acton's statement that power tends to corrupt (tends to corrupt mind you; he did not say that power corrupts), and absolute power corrupts absolutely, has been quoted more and more frequently. We hear that quoted constantly, particularly in the churches; they have been concerned with that kind of problem. They have not always understood the difficulty of the person who has to make the decision, because his decisions are not between black and white; they are usually between two shades of grey, and it takes great discrimination to know which is greyer. But the problem that they have neglected to a great degree, except on the fringes, is the problem of the little fellow way down the line who is frustrated because he seems to have no connection with the purpose of the organization to which he belongs, little connection with the purpose of the group in which he works, and is unable to achieve either a sense of accomplishment

or a sense of satisfaction in living. Now, that is the kind of problem on which social workers and the churches need to get together and which they need to understand.

One trouble so far as social workers are concerned is that they are too close to the individual to see him in the total group to which he belongs and they are too far away from the man of power. The church is too far away from both of them, so far as those close and very personal problems are concerned. I do not know any subject in which there is greater value in more discussion, more study, but the study needs to go still further back into the preparation both of those who go into the ministry and those who go into social work. That, it seems to me, is the basic problem that we face today. The others are all resultants, on the whole. If we understand the problem of organization and how to provide security and satisfaction for the people who work in organization, we will have gone a long way toward meeting the basic problems of the day—perhaps not those of foreign affairs, but after all, if we continue with a solid strength based on our own knowledge and learning about the integration of our communities and of our people and of all the little groups that make them up, then I assure you that we will have come to a point where our solidity and strength in the world will always be expressing itself along sound lines. That again is a resultant, and it seems to me that we should come back to concentrate on the problem that is right before us, make sure that we see it whole and make sure that we give to the coming generation that is going to take our places an adequate understanding of its character and of the need for a spiritual dynamic in solving it.

National and World Coöperation versus Provincialism

By GEORGE E. HAYNES

IT IS MAINLY with the theme of international collaboration in social work that I am here concerned. I shall deal with the issues broadly and I fully realize that I must take many things for granted and that my survey must ignore many urgent special problems. Furthermore, I could not hope to analyze in one paper, the many serious obstacles within our different countries—the prejudices and fears which resist social advance. I am aware that the problems of Great Britain, which of course I know best, are not a safe guide to an interpretation of the difficulties in the United States and still less to those of other countries where the influences of a common language are absent. The problem posed by my subject is clearly of universal significance. Social progress, it appears, can only come the hard way. Everywhere there are great obstacles to be overcome. In some countries the conception of social welfare involving a fairer distribution of the community's resources is a novel one and not yet really accepted as a primary goal of their communities. And even in those countries where comprehensive schemes of social welfare and security are enshrined in law they are by no means always accepted in fact. There is everywhere a wide gulf between plans and practice. There are in every community resistances to be overcome in achieving the most necessary and obvious social provision. It may be resistance to change because it is change. It may be the organized resistance of sectional interests which seek to guard their privileges. And it may be, and in fact often is, resistance on the part of some privileged community to sharing in wider obligations and responsibilities. Most countries have the clash of interests between the countryside and the town; of a prospering community against the claims of a depressed one. All these factors are grouped together

by the influences of past history which have shaped religious and political opinions and molded societies into their local and national patterns.

A socially mature and homogeneous country like Great Britain which has slowly but steadily built up over the centuries a sense of community relationship does not have the same problems, either in formulating its plans for social development or in securing their acceptance by the country as a whole, that you have in this country. It is difficult for the average Englishman to understand the complexities of organization in this great country with its vast areas, its widely scattered communities grouped together in forty-eight separate states with their reserve powers and duties; and still less the social and community problems created by your phenomenal industrial and cultural development and arising out of many diverse groups of peoples who have made their home in this land and constitute the varied texture of its social life.

I am aware that the problem of Federal, state, and local community relationships in the United States is a matter of great importance to most social workers here, but it is easy for us in Britain to be somewhat bewildered by the conflict of forces which this complex of problems appears to generate. One of the aspects of recent legislation in Great Britain which has deeply interested me has been the comparatively easy way in which the new alignment of duties and responsibilities has been redistributed as between central government on the one hand and local government on the other. As you know, the powers of central government have been greatly increased in the field of social security, in education, in the health and medical services, and in other ways. This increase in power at the center has been accompanied by a decrease in power in the localities and at the periphery. It is true that local authorities while losing important duties in the field of hospital service and social security have gained a wide variety of other powers affecting the welfare of the people, but there is an elaborate system of checks and directions which provides the central government with over-all powers to a degree which is new in our history. It is true that this increase in power is viewed with some misgivings even by those who feel that the general trend is necessary; but on the whole, this

aspect of social change in Great Britain has not been in the center of the struggle so far as the general public has been concerned. No great feeling was aroused when the National Assistance Act removed the powers of the local authorities to administer financial relief of poverty or distress, and yet the change was of profound social significance.

On the whole, it may be said that the forces of social cohesion in Great Britain today are very strong and have been made all the stronger by the experiences of the past twenty-five years, and above all by the overriding threat to our national security which is still the paramount influence making for national unity. Twenty years ago, during the days of heavy unemployment, the country learned the lesson that the stronger or more favorably placed neighborhoods would have to stand by the depressed areas and share their burdens and problems. That recognition was not won, of course, without a battle. It took some time before the socially devastating experiences of the mining valleys of Wales and the villages of Durham were brought home to other communities. But the conscience of the country was aroused and, once aroused, was largely responsible for the legislation which provided for financial aid for the social services and the industrial life in these areas.

That is not to say, of course, that in Britain today we do not have local resistances to national action. We have many signs of it, but not all of them are bad. People generally are becoming more concerned with the question of the delegation of powers and decentralization to which I have just referred. There are indications, for example, that Scotland will wish for greater delegation of authority to the Scottish Department in Edinburgh. Recently a council has been established for Wales to advise the central government on Welsh affairs—in itself an acknowledgment of Welsh sentiment but, I am afraid, hardly likely to satisfy the more ardent spirits of the principality. It is, of course, possible that these questions of relationships may become charged with the emotion of bygone struggles and battles long ago, but for the present the need for all communities to hold together is too strong to be favorable to the breakdown of the present system of relationships which make for strong and responsible action from the center.

Undoubtedly, the outstanding problem for us at the present time in this matter of relationships is the question of national policy and the clash of national interests. What is the role of government in relation to industry? How to reconcile the competing claims of, say, the professions and trade unions, of the doctors and dentists, the miners, the railway workers, the dockers? These problems are indeed crucial, and we experience the never-ending struggle common to most countries for the reconciliation of sectional claims against the needs of the community as a whole.

Perhaps as an Englishman I can get a better appreciation of the problems of the United States by reflecting on the great obstacles which impede the way to unity among the Western nations of Europe. They are driven together by the immense and common danger which threatens them all. It is clear that there are common obligations and responsibilities which they must share together; but the "drive" of each country is to solve its problems in its own way, and the difficulty is to secure a firm basis for the reconciliation of what seem to be conflicting national ends and purposes. It is difficult to find a fair basis for the distribution of the common burdens which international action requires and still more difficult to convince the peoples of individual countries that personal and individual sacrifices are necessary in the wider cause of peace and understanding. Holland and Belgium, in their efforts to establish the Benelux Union, have come to a keener appreciation of the differences in their economic and social structure and of the difficulties which stand in the way of an effective economic union. How, in short, to bring the free economy of Belgium to terms with the planned economy of Holland? There is a desperate short-term problem which requires for its solution quick agreements. There is also a long-term problem involving the education and re-education of the outlook of our different peoples. How can we, while still there is time, act upon the inescapable fact that this is indeed one world in which we live and which requires of everyone the duties and obligations of common citizenship? Are we as social workers, or can we be, one of the forces in the world making for peace and understanding? That is a challenge to us as social workers. I believe that we can. I believe that our function in the commu-

nities we serve equips us for still greater service to mankind. What are our assets for this task?

The problem confronting us is one of relationships at all levels—local, national, and international—and it is with the art of relationships between persons and between groups that the social worker is primarily concerned. In helping the individual to take his place in his own community to fulfill himself as a person in the complex of family and social life, he is first concerned with the obstacles of the individual's growth and adjustment, whether these be personal, environmental, or both. Professional or craft skills are being applied at the very situations within the community which provide the real crux of the contemporary crisis.

Social work, of course, cannot claim to be the only or, in some cases, the main activity which is concerned with these problems, but it appears to me from a reading of the history of social work activities over the past few generations that wherever obstacles arise to the fulfillment of human needs and the requirements of human organization, we find social workers who are acting and working at the center of those problems, dealing with their most urgent and pressing forms. Their great historical contribution has been to occupy in many countries the very forefront of the battle against the giant evils which Beveridge has defined for us as squalor, want, disease, ignorance, unemployment. In our great urban centers it was the social worker who often showed the way to better social adjustment, and it was on the basis of his experience that many of our modern social services have been based. Out of those services have grown our fuller and richer conception of the means through which the social worker can render his service.

In each phase of activity there is the basic problem of securing the relationships in the community which will allow for the fullest possible development of each individual or group and at the same time the largest measure of harmony in the community as a whole. It is this aspect of our work which seems to me of special relevance to the main question of this paper. In a world such as we live in today the social worker, if he is true to his craft, must be working at the frontier of human relationships. There was never so great a need for the contribution of those who can look beyond the barriers

which the conditions of life are constantly erecting and which are so fruitful in conflict and tension. The world is profoundly disturbed, and even in countries which have the appearance of stability and strength there are deep-rooted anxieties which have a profound effect upon a community's, or indeed upon a country's capacity to live and work with others. I can think of no other group of workers to whom the present world situation presents a greater challenge than it does to social workers. It is true that, in one sense, social workers have little power to alter the course of events at the national or international level. We are not organized—at least generally we are not organized—for political action, and if we were so we should in the party sense lose much of our influence. Unlike the approach of the politician who, generally speaking, tends to work downward from his conception of what is convenient or practicable in dealing with social needs, the social worker approaches his problems in the reverse way. We are not, or I suggest we should not be, primarily concerned with political divisions but with human needs. It is our task to discover the nature of these needs and the way in which these needs can best be met, and we must follow our conclusions where they lead us. History has demonstrated how fruitful this approach has been, not only within our countries but between them. You and I have before us many illustrious examples of the way in which the contribution of social workers has fed the life and enriched the culture of both our countries. There has been a communion of thought and experience between us even when there have existed strong political differences. Some of the most influential world movements at the present time owe their origin to the contacts which social workers have made with one another across national boundaries and in spite of the divisions which have separated them in the political field. I believe that it is the basic and fundamental similarity of human problems which has made this possible. For many workers, national boundaries have counted for less than the common problems of mankind. I have been deeply impressed time again in my talks with social workers from different countries by this fundamental similarity in our work and approach, even more profoundly than I have been made aware of the differences in cultural and historical backgrounds which define the ways

in which our social work must express itself. I believe, therefore, that social work can be a great instrument in creating a sense of unity in the world, a unity based upon the diversity of local needs.

Let us turn from this analysis to look at the position in the world today. It is, of course, a situation of infinite complexity. It might be summarized broadly as follows: There are first the countries which are able to provide for a wide variety of social services which meet, or at any rate go a good way toward meeting, the primary needs of their peoples for food and homes, for education, welfare, and social security. Each of these countries has its great difficulties, and none has reached a stage in its development which can be regarded as final or providing a wholly satisfactory basis for personal and social life. But they have laid the foundations and have established a broadly acceptable standard of values by which these matters can be judged. They all suffer, and some indeed intensely, from the material and moral devastation of the war. In some ways the war has speeded up social progress—it certainly has in Great Britain—in the matter of social security. In others, it has set the clock back many years—for example, in housing and in many forms of educational provision. Furthermore, the war has aroused deep-seated anxieties and social tensions which render far more difficult the creation of harmonious community life and the reconciliation of competing interests. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties and shortcomings, in many of the Western European countries and in the United States there has been a striking advance from the position a generation ago. When we look from these countries to the Far East we are confronted with a vastly different situation. Many of us remember vividly the picture drawn by Dr. Jagadisan Mochandas Kumarappa of the colossal size of India; social problems and the slender resources in materials and trained man power available to meet them: one doctor for every 6,300 of the population; one nurse to every 43,000; one health visitor to every 400,000; and so on—and these are figures which I have no doubt can be paralleled in other areas of the Far East.

Then there are the vast and infinitely varied problems of the colonial and mandated territories. These areas are becoming more and more important parts of world economy, and, it appears, will

be in the near future increasingly subjected to economic and commercial plans for their development, or perhaps for their exploitation. It is of supreme importance that the principles which guide the social worker shall play their part in the new era which opens up before many of these territories. Already the impact of the civilized world on these countries has tended to lead to the breakdown of communal obligations which had hitherto sustained them and formed the basis of organized social life. It will be nothing short of tragedy if in the great developments and changes which undoubtedly will take place in Africa and in other undeveloped parts of the world a sound social policy fails to go hand in hand with economic and industrial progress. Already we have the warning before our eyes in the acute social problems of some of their urban centers where rapid economic expansion has lost all sense of relationship with sound social and communal growth and is, in fact, tending to sap and undermine the life of the surrounding rural areas. Here is a challenge and an opportunity for the social worker and especially for the social worker who belongs by birth to those areas and who perhaps alone can fully understand his people's needs and how the best in their heritage can be saved to meet the requirements of this new age.

It will not be sufficient merely to apply to the special problems of these areas the new techniques of social welfare which have been worked out in more advanced countries, although they can be and are being of great value; the social practice and techniques must truly reflect the needs of those areas and their peoples and not do violence to the natural evolution of their communities. On this point it is encouraging to note that responsible governments are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of working out welfare policies which are properly related to the true needs of native communities.

As social workers we need to be better informed on these problems and to establish relations with those who will be called upon to play their part as pioneers in new forms of social work. There never was a time which called more strongly for solidarity and understanding among social workers in all parts of the world.

What can we do together to fit ourselves for these tasks? In the

first place, we must continue and intensify our efforts to clarify the nature and content of our work and its relation to other forms of human activity. The term "social work" is still interpreted in different ways, not only as between our countries, but also between different parts of the profession. In several countries the term "social worker" is now protected by law and hence defined rather sharply and in terms of specific forms of training. In Great Britain it is still used in a very wide sense to include many forms of activity. At one end of the scale we have the social workers trained in a recognized profession—the caseworker, the psychiatric social worker, the hospital almoner; and at the other end we have voluntary and untrained workers engaged in group and community activities of so varied a character that their relation to the professional social worker is extremely difficult to define or clarify. A recent and authoritative definition of social work which has been put forward in Great Britain lays it down that it is an activity which is not primarily concerned with the well-being of those social groups which require special attention, such as the aged, the physically handicapped, or the delinquent: it has to do with the raising and the maintenance of standards for all members of the community. These are very wide terms of reference, but they represent a trend of thought which is proving more and more acceptable to social workers in Great Britain. It means, of course, that the social worker tends to become an agent dispersed throughout the whole community and may lose the sense of precise purpose which was a feature of social work thirty or forty years ago. It is inevitable that the defined professions within social work itself become increasingly related to some other profession whether it be that of the doctor, the administrator, or the teacher. I believe that our definitions should be broad but I am also concerned that they should not become so broad as to lose their meaning. A great deal of thought, more so than perhaps in any other country, has been given to this matter by social workers in this country. I should like to see a greater and more effective exchange of views and experience in the near future.

This brings me to the related question of the ethical purpose of social work. I have been greatly interested in the thought which has been given to the possibility of defining a code of ethics for

the social worker by the American Association of Social Workers, Inc. At the present time social work has no broadly accepted code of ethics although there is a widespread assumption that the social worker should act as if he were responsible to an established and recognized basis of professional behavior. The proposals of the American Association, are rendering a valuable service in focusing attention on this important matter. I think it would be a very good thing for social work in many different countries if social workers could give their thought to this matter in the near future and I hope that the code which has been drafted in this country can be sent out to social workers in other countries as a basis of stimulus to their discussions. It is hardly likely that it could result in a statement which would be acceptable to all countries and to all types of worker, but I feel that it would have a stimulating influence and not only might result in a greater sense of solidarity among social workers in all countries, but would help to clarify and at the same time sustain the basic purposes to which social work is dedicated.

Then I think there needs to be far better and more effective channels of communication on social work and welfare between our different countries. Social work, compared with other professions, is still largely inarticulate. The public at large is still unaware of the significance and content of our work. I say this having at the same time a lively sense of what has been done in this country. The workers in the United States provide by far the greatest proportion of books and documents on social work in the world. I raise this point with a sense of the inadequacy of our own contribution in Great Britain. I am aware of your difficulties in finding full and reliable information on what we are doing in Great Britain. Many of us have greatly admired and benefited by the efforts of the workers, the teachers, and the planners in the United States in analyzing and describing the processes and achievements of social work. I single out one name in paying tribute to Paul Kellogg and his associates who have done so much to keep the channels of communication open between our countries. In his long efforts for the *Survey* he has earned the gratitude of all social workers. As we enter on a new phase in social welfare in the world and as our na-

tional destinies become more and more intertwined, it is essential that that work of interpretation shall go forward.

There is one other question which is dear to my own heart and which is most relevant to this general question. In science, in medicine, in education, there has been for generations a steady flow of ideas between countries fortified and strengthened by personal contacts and visits. In the field of social work this has tended to be sporadic and chancy. I believe that there is nothing which can help us to learn more of one another than meeting on the job and seeing how our theories are translated into practice. Some of the world movements have, of course, been able to achieve a considerable measure of exchange visits within their own organizations, but the great majority of social workers remain outside their operations. Already, tentative beginnings are being made to lay the foundations for interchange of workers between our countries and for more adequate schemes for visits of study and observation. The difficulties are formidable, the limitations are obvious. I believe, however, that there are some professions in which this can be done, and the contacts which we have had over the past few years suggest that in the fields of medical social work, for example, and of the delinquency services and in certain forms of social group work it may become increasingly possible for workers in one country to exchange posts for a period with similar workers in other countries. But these limitations do not apply in anything like the same degree to visits of observation and study. In my own country there is a steadily growing interest among many workers in the possibility of paying visits to other countries, and such information as I have, shows that this interest is shared in this country by many social workers. I hope that you will give this matter your most sympathetic consideration in your various branches of social work. Progress is bound to be slow, but I believe that if we can now hammer out together the essentials of sound schemes, in a few years' time we shall see great developments.

Now may I turn to the work of the International Conference of Social Work. We are at present engaged in reshaping its organization in an effort to make it a still more effective instrument of international understanding and progress. Its new constitution was

adopted in 1948 at the New York Conference—to bring it into line with postwar needs. It represents a considered attempt to bring together organizations and social workers, the professional workers and the volunteers, in a continued effort of study and consultation on the principles of social work and their application in the world today. It is, so far as I know, the only voluntary association whose constitution provides for the participation of social workers and organizations in all countries, irrespective of politics and creeds, over the whole domain of social work. It is a unique attempt at a synthesis of thought and work at the international level, promoting the exchange of information and experience between workers, between agencies, and, we hope, increasingly between international organizations.

The International Conference is recognized by the United Nations and has consultative status with the Economic and Social Council. Membership is wide open to individuals and organizations who are in sympathy with its objectives, and international organizations can become associate members. As the basis of its structure stand the national committees which are voluntary associations of workers and agencies, representative of the broad range of social work and administration in each country. It is the existence and work of these committees which makes of the International Conference something more significant than a mere assembly of workers held every few years. Through these committees the Conference is directly related to the social work structures of the different countries. Each of these is working out its own program of activity through national meetings and discussions, and it is through them that national issues can be clarified in relation to international needs.

In this way an attempt is being made over a wide range of social work to provide progressively at each stage—the neighborhood, the area, the country, and the world itself—an integration of thought and experience. Now these are very large aims, and I would not want you to assume that we are not deeply and painfully aware of the great difficulties and obstacles which stand between us and the achievement of such goals. I realize that these activities may seem far removed from the daily work of many of you, in your towns and

neighborhoods. Social work is, I believe, primarily a local and neighborhood operation. Its problems are intimate affairs. As social workers, our value as planners of wider-scale operations, national or international, derives from our skill in individual social diagnosis, which we have learned and acquired on that smaller stage. But it is just because that work is basic to the whole edifice of world citizenship, it is because our work is so intimately concerned with individuals and small groups, that it is vital that we should see the significance of what we are doing in relation to the present crisis in human relations. I believe there is a growing appreciation among social workers of the importance of their contribution and a widespread desire to place their knowledge and skills at the service of those bodies which are working for world peace. It is the aim of the national committees to canalize this growing practical interest.

It will be for each national committee to work out its associations with the agencies and workers in its own country, following a broad plan of objectives set out by the permanent committee of the Conference, on which all the national committees are represented. These are some of our main purposes, to which we ask the national committees to dedicate their activities.

1. We wish to secure agreement on the main subjects for study and discussion within regions and also from the world point of view. We want to see all regional and world meetings preceded by careful and realistic preparation.

2. We want the International Conference to be an effective ally of the Economic and Social Council of the UN and of its Social Commission. I do not see how the Social Activities Division of the UN can become an effective force in the world unless it has the support of social agencies and social workers in all countries. The national committees, working in collaboration with their governments, and through the agencies and workers which they bring together, have a great opportunity of service at the present time.

3. We ask that each committee should consider what it can do to further the interchange of experience between countries, through visits of study and observation and, where possible, by the interchange of workers.

4. We look to the national committees, particularly in those coun-

tries which have a highly developed and diversified social structure, to take an interest in those countries which are in the early stages of social development.

In seeking to carry out these tasks, we intend to work for the closest collaboration with existing international organizations, many of which we hope will come into associate membership. We will try constantly to avoid overlapping and refrain from undertaking any tasks which can better or more appropriately be undertaken by other international agencies.

There is at the present time a very friendly and close collaboration with the International Association of Schools of Social Work and an understanding that so far as possible our meetings shall be held together. This is an arrangement which will help both bodies—the Conference through contact with the philosophy and methodology of the centers of thought and training, and the schools by extending their knowledge of the fields of practice in different countries.

The relations of the International Conference with the associations of social workers is, of course, of outstanding importance. They provide the main potential of strength and interest. As a longer-term objective we have in mind the possibility of an International Association of Social Workers, either as a part of the structure of the Conference machinery or as an independent coöperating body; preferably, I think, the latter.

And now what of the progress which is being made toward the achievement of some of these goals? Our first and most obvious task is to secure the establishment of national committees. Since the 1948 meeting in New York, new committees have been established in a number of countries, while others have been reformed and strengthened. Progress is bound to be slow in certain areas. In some countries social work is not coöordinated and there is no effective machinery which can be used for the purposes which the Conference has in mind. In one or two regions, countries are more concerned with restricted areas of interest and are not as yet convinced of the desirability of a wider forum. Nevertheless, the progress is encouraging.

In Britain we have reshaped our national committee, which now

includes the leading voluntary organizations, the British Federation of Social Workers, and associate members from government departments. One of its first achievements has been the establishment of the British National Conference of Social Work. An exploratory conference was held in 1948, with its main theme "The Outlook for Social Work in Great Britain." The first and inaugural congress will be held in 1950, and this will concern itself with some of the main problems arising out of our new social services and, in particular, with the relation between the State and voluntary action. In planning this meeting the subjects will be so arranged that their international significance can be brought out, in preparation for the European Regional Conference. This will follow shortly after working parties, comprising professional and voluntary social workers, are established in a number of towns. Reports of their work will be gathered together to form the basic papers for the Conference discussions, and in this way a large constituency of thought and experience will be brought to a national focus.

In India, in December of 1948, a very successful National Conference was held, drawing its membership from many parts of the subcontinent. The Conference secured agreement on a most impressive series of resolutions related to relief and rehabilitation, rural social work, the health services, the treatment of delinquency, and the training of social workers. Branches of the Conference have been established in a number of provinces, and already a start has been made in the preparation of provincial and state directories of social work agencies with a view ultimately of publishing an All-India Directory of Social Work. The Indian Conference attaches great importance to its connection with the International Conference and looks to it to link the workers in India with workers in other countries.

Let me give you another example, from another country. A national committee has been established in Italy, and some of their leading workers have played a part since the war in reshaping the affairs of the International Conference. One cannot help being greatly impressed by the zeal which at the present time is animating many Italian social workers. In the past three years they have embarked on a critical re-examination of many of their social services.

In the past three or four years ten new schools of social work have been established, and they pay a warm tribute to the help and friendship which they have received from other countries in their efforts to overcome their many postwar social problems. I am confident that Italian social workers are going to make an important contribution to the future development of social work as a world influence.

These are two examples which could be paralleled in South America and in other parts of the world.

The next International Congress is being planned for 1952, and between now and then regional conferences are to be held in different parts of the world. At the present time I speak with a very real sense of the difficulties which confront us in carrying forward the work of the Conference. We have very few financial resources.

In 1948 we estimated a budget of expenditure of \$10,000. We have no full-time secretariat, and you can imagine the problems confronting Joe Hoffer, Secretary General of the International Conference, in maintaining contacts between the different national committees. The work could not be done were it not for the fact that many individuals and organizations are collaborating to share the burden; even so, our resources must be strengthened if we are to carry through our task. The constitution of the Conference provides for an individual membership, and we hope that in all countries it will receive the support of individual social workers. We know that it will not be possible for all to attend its meetings but we believe that its activities can be made to reach out in a variety of fruitful ways to many thousands of social workers. We ask for your support in this great venture. The present moment is, I believe, one full of opportunity for a forum such as the International Conference in building up a sense of solidarity among social workers and in helping resolve some of the obstacles and hindrances to social welfare throughout the world. The Social Division of the UN looks for our assistance in accumulating its information and knowledge of the world situation. Our interests touch at many points the fields of activity of the other specialized agencies, of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Children's Emergency Fund, and

the International Refugee Organization. Our collaboration is urgently needed in the activities of these official bodies. It is not sufficient that we should merely meet once every four years, valuable though those Conferences have been and will be in the future. It is the aim of the International Conference to play its part in the day-to-day work of social welfare to reinforce the efforts of social workers everywhere. We ask for your interest and support, without which these high tasks cannot even be attempted, let alone achieved. We ask for much and for the present give you but little, except our comradeship in the "cause" and in our efforts to extend for the benefit of mankind the stores of the world's healing wisdoms.

If provincialism means the introverted attitude toward life, the cultivation of self-regarding sentiments to the exclusion of our obligations and duties as citizens in the world, then provincialism is an enemy to the true purposes of social work, whether it be local provincialism or national. I give you the words of Edmund Burke spoken over 175 years ago to his constituents in the city of Bristol, England: "Public life is a situation of power and energy; he trespasses upon his duty, who sleeps upon his watch as well as he who goes over to the enemy."

Let it not be said of us that at this critical stage of man's long struggle for a better and fuller life, we slept upon our watch or went over to the enemy.

Freedom with Security

By PAUL H. DOUGLAS

THE TWO WORDS "freedom" and "security" offer themselves as chapter headings for major conflicts in human history; for these are organic words, rising from the deepest needs of the human spirit and expressing the deepest conflicts within it. At some time or other, the most precious word in the life of a man is "freedom." In his mind's eye, he sees himself as valiant, heroic, ever victorious, equal to any trial. The unknown holds no terror for him. It is the material on which he will leave the imprint of his own worth. He wants no mediating force to stand between it and him. He wants no hand to pull him back while he challenges it. If he masters the unknown, he wants the fruits of his success all to himself. He is always in pursuit of Moby Dick. He is always on the bridge of the whaler, the "Pequod." He is always Captain Ahab, that vast prototype of an American, always ready to shake his fist at God as he asserts his own ego, or even as he suffers the fate of Ahab.

But at other times, the most precious word in the life of a man is "security." In his mind's eye, he sees himself as an abandoned creature, feeble in his limbs, surrounded on all sides by hostile, impersonal forces that are poised to tear him apart if he makes a single misstep, and are indifferent to his cry of pain when they seize him. What lies over the horizon terrorizes him. It is a region which holds even more sinister forces than those he encounters in the vicinity of his own home. He wants guarantees against any attacks of those forces on his own life. He wants walls built between them and him. He wants to be absolved from making personal decisions and being called to account for those decisions. He would prefer that others—a leader, a party, a state—decide things for him. He would prefer to find his virtue in a law of obedience to these stronger, protecting forces. And if, in the course of all this, the protecting walls he wants to have built finally pen him in and limit his movement to a rut of

fixed length, it is a known rut and a certain one, one without surprises.

The double lure of freedom and security which divides the heart of each man operates also in whole societies, and also has often divided them. Throughout human history, bloody struggles have been fought by factions in society who have aimed to stamp one of these words on the faces of all men about them. Sometimes it has been the word "freedom" to the exclusion of "security." Sometimes it has been the word "security" to the exclusion of the word "freedom." But as in the case of individuals, wherever societies have given predominating importance to one of these words and have suppressed the other, they seem always to have invited either death in anarchy, or death through fossilization.

Two experiences of the race—one in the Middle Ages, and the other of more recent date—dramatically illustrate this fact. It was the proud boast of the Middle Ages that it gave security and status to men and freed them from the perils of strife and anarchy. Whatever else might be said of this boast, it is true that there were no forgotten men under the feudal order. Indeed, a sense of place was its dominant motif, and under it, men were ranged in a hierarchical order which prescribed a rigid mode of life for those on each rung of the economic and political ladder. Little hope was held out to any man that he could rise to a rung higher than the one on which he was born, but he could console himself with the thought that he would not fall to a lower rung.

At the bottom of the system was the immobile mass of serfs who were bound to the land and could never leave it. Yet they knew that the land would not be separated from them, and that come what might, they and their children had a chance to work and eke out some sort of a living. In the towns, similarly, the boys who were taken on as apprentices were fairly certain that if they applied themselves to their jobs, they would become journeymen and then set up shops for themselves. In their working lives, they were protected from competition and were governed during their working hours by the rules of their guilds.

So far as possible, therefore, the system of feudalism and the guilds aimed to provide men with security and protection against

the dangers of the unknown. But it did so at the expense of stifling the creative impulse of all men, except the sovereign few on top, or the handful of artists engaged to memorialize the glory of the sovereign few. All rights and rewards for all other men were derived from status. These were sealed as in a static family, where children always remain such, never changing in their age, never acquiring new rights and responsibilities with added age, always denied a hand in shaping their own lives, and living always in the shadow of a benevolent or despotic parent.

By slow degrees, the hope for a new order of life asserted itself. Men born into the lower ranks with greater talents than they were allowed to exercise, yearned for an economic and political freedom which would open up new areas of expression. They came to realize that their forebears who had bargained away their freedom to strong men, in order to gain security against marauding bands, had made a Faustian deal with Satan. Having bargained away both political and economic freedom, they and their descendants were not secure in either their persons or their livelihoods when the lusts and appetites of their so-called "protectors" were aroused. If a serf crossed the will of his feudal lord, then the latter, in his capacity as judge, could, without regard to the justice of the case, order harsh punishment for the serf. If the lord of the manor took a fancy to the wives and daughters of those under him, it was almost impossible to resist him, however odious his person might be. If he warred with rival nobles, he could impress his serfs into his forces and carry them away to battle and death.

But at last a combination of many factors set the stage for an assault on the feudal order. The Crusades, which led to the death of many of the overlords, also contributed to the rise of the merchant class in the cities who were destined to break the power of the men they outfitted for foreign ventures. New appetites acquired in the Orient and brought back to the West contributed still further to the rise of the merchants who fed those appetites. The ancient Greek texts which sang of free men, each one sovereign in his creative power, were brought out of obscurity and re-entered the fabric of thought. Concurrently, plagues decimated the ranks of the serfs and weakened the economic base of the overlords, while the intro-

duction of muskets made the lowly peasant or artisan who fought on foot the master of the plumed and armored knight who fought on horseback. All these factors enabled men to hack their way free of the dead hand of feudalism, and the energies of the race exploded in the majestic, lawless, and heady anarchy of the Renaissance, and its later child, the Reformation, which asserted the freedom of men in their religious, political, and economic dimensions.

Finally, the expansion of trade, the growth of manufacturing, and the great inventions and the factory system enormously increased the productivity of industry. New trades and industries developed and expanded, the population began to shift toward the towns and the factories. The old regime of feudalism was archaic in view of developments, and new and mighty economic classes demanded freedom from the old restraints.

A new world stretched out for men of talent to conquer. In the words of the famed English jurist, Sir Henry Maine, the order of life shifted from a basis of status to a basis of contract—from an accent on security to an accent on freedom. This shift of emphasis did not occur all at once. It was centuries in developing, for the psychological hold of the feudal pattern continued long after the physical props for feudalism were eaten away. But in country after country, the insistence mounted for a removal of the legal restrictions on the freedom of individuals. The state—with all its minute controls, with all its barriers to growth and change, with all its royal monopolies, with all its trappings of custom and sentiment—the state was to keep its hands off and let men produce for themselves and contract freely.

All this found its most mature statement in the writings of Adam Smith. Two things, commonly overlooked, are worth noting about this man. In the first place, he was a professor of moral philosophy, and what he wrote about economics was not an isolated inquiry; it was part of a general thesis on the happiness of man. In the second place, the title of his master work was not *The Wealth of Men*; it was the *Wealth of Nations*. I emphasize these two points because they bring into truer focus the meaning of a doctrine which governed the behavior of our economy for almost 150 years.

In its fullest development, Adam Smith, and those who built on

his work, like Mill, John Bright, and Richard Cobden, argued that the freedom to produce and to contract freely afforded the most vigorous and dependable stimulus to work that we can devise, that it was the most effective way of eliminating the weak and perfecting the race through service of the economically fit, that it granted freedom to purchasers to express their own preferences, and that it was the best method for apportioning human energy and natural resources to the end which humanity desired.

As each man is braced and stimulated to effort, he will work harder and produce more than he would otherwise. Those who are best adapted to their environment conquer, and those who are not adapted are crushed and pass from sight. Those who work hard, who manage efficiently, and who save, become dominant in business. Those who are indolent, who manage badly and are spend-thrifts, inevitably fall lower and lower on the economic ladder. Business, according to the nineteenth-century industrialists who took over the doctrines of Darwin, was presumed to be on the winnowing ground where the chaff was rejected and where the competent inherited the earth. By this process, the direction of industry was placed in the hands of those who can best conduct it, and the economically fit rose to superior stations in life. These men passed on their characteristics, with some variations, to their progeny, and of these, again only the best survived. Thus, through the slow process of time, man evolved into more perfect forms and from out of the struggle and brutality came competence, and often graciousness as well.

In the social dimension, argued these thinkers such as William Graham Sumner, while men will not work primarily for the benefit of society, they nevertheless foster it more effectively by first looking out for their individual interests than if they directly sought the social good itself. And this is so, because society is nothing but the sum of the individuals who compose it. As each man prospers, society prospers and the wealth of nations increases. Men are led, said Adam Smith, "as by an invisible hand, to promote an end which was no part of their original intention." Moreover, in this same social dimension, unlimited freedom to produce and to contract causes industry to conform to the democratic wishes of society.

Unlike feudalism, where men's expenditures were regulated by sumptuary laws, men who are free to spend their income and their wealth as they wish, vote with their dollars for what will be produced, and this type of balloting is said to be more important than the political one. It was the task of ethics and religion to make men desire more pure and worthy things; and in so far as freedom to produce and contract placed the burden on each man to work out his own salvation, it set the stage for the development of a higher ethical conduct than could ever exist in a society where sumptuary legislation prevailed and where consumers' choices were limited.

The doctrine I have been describing carried the day. Great Britain swept away all encumbrances to this freedom to produce and to contract, and it advanced the corollary political freedoms, such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly. Here in the United States, with its virgin soil, there was little need to employ this doctrine as a weapon with which restrictions could be abolished. It was used, instead, as a means for resisting their imposition in the first place. Here, in America, every man was in a sense a new Adam, a man without the restraints of antiquity, the first of his race, free to bend a wilderness to his will.

The work performed under the shadow of this doctrine of freedom was enormous. Society became fluid. The promise was, in fact, fulfilled for many men that if they applied themselves to the task, regardless of the station into which they were born, they could rise to commanding positions in society. Frontiers were pushed back in all areas of life. In the search for markets and raw materials, the most remote corners of the earth were penetrated and exploited. Science became a handmaiden to economics, and, in the course of developing new technological devices for the economy, also brought into being the means by which pure science could be pursued more fruitfully. Deaths and disease were reduced everywhere. In Europe alone, although the birth rate declined, the assault on disease brought about an increase in population from 100,000,000 to 500,000,000 in the space of but two centuries. An increase in production and the new stimulus to invention brought about a huge, absolute raise in the standard of living.

The political movement of liberalism, born of this freedom to

contract and produce, kept pace with the general expansion of economy. Libertarian freedoms asserted themselves in nation after nation and shaped the nature of government in their image. It seemed but a matter of years until all tyrannies would vanish from the earth. It also seemed but a matter of years before permanent peace would be brought to the earth. It was to the self-interest of all men to preserve peace. This was crystal clear. Hence peace would be preserved. Man had at last found an escalator to heaven. He had put his foot on the first tread, and time would take care of the rest. With each passing second, he would be carried inexorably upward until he reached a state of perfect bliss.

Four forces have operated to mar this dream of an inevitable heaven characterized by freedom of competition: The first was the growing realization that poor men did not stand on an equality when they bargained competitively with rich men. Secondly, monopolies and cartels came increasingly to dominate business and to replace to a large degree the atomistic competition which was postulated by the early apostles of economic freedom. Thirdly, periodic business depressions threatened the happiness and lives of the hundreds of millions of people who were caught up in the industrial society. Fourthly, the century of comparative peace which followed the Battle of Waterloo and which gave a framework of relative tranquillity within which the traditions of liberal capitalism could develop was rudely broken by the first World War, by the rise of totalitarian Communism in Russia, totalitarian Fascism in Italy and Germany, and the terrors of the second World War.

The impact of all these forces caused men by the hundreds of millions to be fearful of the freedom which the early advocates of laissez faire had advocated. Housman's lines about his character who was "Standing, lonely and afraid, In a world I never made," mirrored their feeling. Craving security, in this last third of a century, men have turned to corporations, institutions, parties, and the state for protection and reassurance. Some have sought it by giving their allegiance to huge corporations, to which they look for a living, for advancement, and for power. A distressing number in Europe have gone over to the brutal parties which espouse a police

state, and have sought status for themselves by slavish adherence to Communism or Fascism.

In order to obtain security these men and nations have given up liberty. But in sacrificing liberty they have not found security. The rubble which was Berlin, the wreckage of the industrial and port cities of Germany, the millions of German war casualties, are all evidence of the fact that when people abandon their freedom to a dictator or to a party, they surrender themselves to a political dynamism which, by seeking greater and greater territorial expansion, ultimately turns the whole world against them. Death and destruction are the inevitable fruits of any such abject surrender, and while the mills of the gods may grind slowly, they do grind exceeding small.

I would warn all those who may be tempted by the claims of Communism that this is a similar blind alley. The attempts of totalitarian Communism to dominate the world, if persisted in, will meet with a similar fate.

This is not the place to treat the ways in which business depressions and totalitarianism weaken both liberty and security. I do want to comment, however, on the way in which inequalities of bargaining power and monopoly have impaired both men's freedom and their security and to offer a few modest suggestions concerning the ways in which both of these values may be preserved.

The laissez-faire liberals had assumed that if men were left perfectly free to contract, the final results would be beneficial to all. Since each man was presumed to know his own interest better than could others, he was thought to make better terms for himself than could be imposed by even a benevolent protector. Neither protective legislation nor trade unions were thought to be necessary. In fact, by violating the presumed economic laws of the subsistence theory of wages, they could only cause serious damage.

But the toads underneath the harrow felt the sharpness of the prongs. The industrial workers, being poor men, without any real savings, and dependent upon their daily earnings to support themselves and their families and always threatened with unemployment, knew that they could not bargain on equal terms with the

factory owners. Because of their ever present necessities, they were commonly forced to sell their labor and that of their families on terms which they knew to be ultimately disadvantageous but which warded off starvation and eviction in the present. The workers were, therefore, virtually always forced to sacrifice their future for the here and now.

Child labor, employment of women, long hours, unsafe and unsanitary surroundings, were some of the results. The race on the whole deteriorated under these conditions. Low productivity caused some of this pressure, but weak bargaining power was at least partially responsible.

Workers, reformers, and politicians turned to the state as an agency to protect the people from the cumulative effects of their own weakness. After a struggle Britain passed the Ten Hours Act and slowly put other protective legislation on the books. Among other experiments, Australia and New Zealand began to fix minimum wages by governmental action. All this did not injure business, as the manufacturers and laissez-faire economists had dolefully predicted. On the contrary, business flourished, but in the interim great damage had been done to the health and vitality of the workers.

Then in the 1880s, Bismarck, fearing the rise of Socialism, began the German system of old age pensions and health insurance which a quarter of a century later the new liberals of England adapted for that country, with unemployment insurance and the minimum wage added for good measure.

In our country the struggle for protective legislation was, in the main, balked until the advent of the Roosevelt Administration. Then we adopted the main outlines of the system of social legislation which the British liberals had enacted, minus health insurance.

Along with the demand for social legislation to protect the weak came the formation and growth of unions. Through unions, men who were individually powerless could become collectively strong. Hours of work were reduced, initial increases in wages were obtained, and workers were protected from the tyranny of foremen and made freer participants in a democracy. In our own country it was under the encouragement afforded by the Wagner Act that

unionism really took root in the hitherto sterile soil of the great mass-production industries.

Just recently, we have recognized the slums as an economic loss, a health hazard, and a moral cancer. Since private industry has been unable to cope with the slums we have begun to take steps to clear them and to put up low-rent dwellings for the submerged poor. I am confident that the indirect gains in reduced expenditures caused by sickness, fire, and crime, together with the increased productivity which follows from a happier family life, will far outweigh the public subsidy involved.

In its readiness to act on behalf of its less fortunate members, as well as to continue its program for aiding the farmers, this type of society has been recently christened the "welfare State." As such it has been attacked on the ground that it is a sacrifice of basic individual freedoms for security. Men are pictured as being no longer self-reliant but as becoming more and more dependent upon the State for protection. It is thus said that they are led to look to society for the maintaining and improvement of their status rather than to rely upon their own energies and abilities to forge ahead.

If this were to be the effect of the welfare legislation which has been passed to date, it would be lamentable. But I can see little evidence that this is so. All that social insurance against old age and unemployment does is to provide partial and incomplete protection for losses of income suffered through inability to work for causes beyond the workers' control. The amounts paid are so small that they do not appreciably weaken the will to work. What these benefits do, instead, is to remove some of the numbing fear which workers have had as to what would happen if they lost their jobs or grew too old to work. A nest egg of protection is instead created to which the workers can add their own savings, to prevent the economic bottom from falling out of their lives. By giving a modicum of security against terrible and ever present risks, these measures make men more free. They thus foster both security and true liberty.

Similarly, a minimum wage of a modest amount—at present it is forty cents an hour, but we hope to raise it to seventy-five cents—merely puts a floor under the income of the weakest workers and

gives them a minimum income while they work. It thus helps to free men and women from the most grinding and brutalizing effects of poverty and affords them a chance to develop. It thus increases the material freedom of men at the same time that it makes them more secure.

Similarly, the increasing spread of publicly financed education up through the elementary, secondary, and college levels is no invasion of liberty. Rather, by giving men more training and knowledge, they are freed to an even greater degree from ignorance, passion, and prejudice. And in the process, men are made more secure against the buffets of life.

In short, in spite of all denunciations of the welfare State which have been indulged in, thus far the steps which we have taken in the United States have made men more rather than less free. What the well-fed and comfortable exponents of a rigid laissez-faire philosophy fail to see is that the abjectly poor are not free. They are not free to give their children a chance or to develop themselves. They are deprived of the simple pleasures of nature which should be the possession of every one of God's creatures. If men can even partially be freed from the terrors of unemployment, poverty-stricken old age, and crushing sickness, and if they are given the chance to learn, then they can develop and grow spiritually and in every other way.

The measures I have mentioned place no real impediment to effort. Those who, on the other hand, oppose such measures as being a violation of the right of men to carve out their careers in the world really have the limited concept of equality which Anatole France satirized in his "Red Lily" when he wrote of the "majestic equality of the law which forbids the rich as well as the poor from sleeping under bridges and begging in the streets for bread."

It is, of course, true that such measures might be carried to excess. If men were to receive when unemployed approximately as much as when they had a job, the will to work of a very large proportion would be destroyed. If the minimum wage were fixed at a point above the amount added to the product by the last group of workers, men would be laid off and appreciable unemployment would result. But those are not present dangers, nor are they likely to threaten us in any near future. To bring them forward now against

the partial measures which either have been adopted or are being proposed is to set up a straw scarecrow which should not frighten rational men.

I would, however, add a word of caution. In our proper zeal to provide greater security and freedom, we should take care to shun the building up of a centralized bureaucracy. Administration should so much as possible be decentralized, states and municipalities should be encouraged to assume as much of the task as they properly can. When we once get down to the job of providing pooled protection against the crushing costs of hospital care, surgical operations, and prolonged and diagnosable diseases, I hope we can build on the fast-growing Blue Cross and Blue Shield organizations rather than erect a centralized bureaucracy in Washington. The governing boards of the Blue Cross and Blue Shield should, of course, be broadened to include representatives of patients as well as of hospitals and doctors, but it is surely better for such agencies to administer these activities than for a national body to run them. In short, we should feed rather than dry up the streams of voluntary action. These should be powerful voluntary organizations which will stand between the individual and the State.

I now turn to the threat which is presented both to our freedom and our security by the growing industrial monopolies. Germany has never had either the intellectual tradition or the practice of competition, and it is this which in part makes our program of decartelization so difficult to execute there. Great Britain has developed the theory of, and justification for, competition more fully than any other nation, but there is little practice of it. Chemicals, explosives, banking, chocolate, oil, flour milling, and tobacco have long been concentrated in Britain in a handful of firms. Similarly, nickel, tin, oil, rubber, and most tropical products have been handled by cartels and virtual monopolies. Iron and steel and textiles operate in England under the cartel principle. There is, in fact, little competition left in Great Britain, and it is that fact, in my judgment, which has given strength to the movement to nationalize industry there.

Fortunately, matters have not gone so far here. And yet many of our basic industries are dominated by a handful of concerns. I need

only mention copper, iron and steel, aluminum, electrical equipment, farm machinery, sewing machines, shoe machinery, glass, rubber, salt, corn products, and many others. Here the cartels hold sway. Berle and Means in their classic study on *the modern corporation*¹ showed that twenty years ago the 200 largest corporations in the country, each with assets of over ninety million dollars, then controlled 49 percent of all the nonfinancial corporate wealth of the country and about 38 percent of the business wealth. While these figures need to be brought up to date, there are indications that the situation is even worse today.

Fortunately, lumbering, wood products, furniture, textiles, clothing, and printing are still largely competitive, but even here combination is making its inroads into the ranks of competition. Farming is still predominantly carried on by small units, as are retail trade and the provision of services.

Now, I submit that the situation is, on the whole, serious. There can be little doubt that the economic, political, and social effects of monopoly and of cartel control are almost wholly bad. Economically, monopolies and cartels tend to raise prices above and to keep production below what both would be under free competition. They thus fail to absorb as much capital and labor as would be employed in these lines were competition to prevail, and hence they put a heavier strain upon the competitive sector of the economy to absorb these savings and workers. As the competitive sector narrows, it becomes more and more difficult for it to balance the monopolies, and business depressions are hence intensified.

At the same time, the monopolies and cartels, by making managements price-minded rather than cost-minded, tend to dampen efforts to improve productive efficiency while their huge size discourages individual effort and tends to lead toward a dull routine. There is every reason to believe that if the smaller concerns could be given adequate access to financing, to patents, and to other facilities, they would be able to produce at lower costs and to expand their business at the expense of the monopolies, thus decentralizing business.

¹ Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and G. C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (Chicago: Commerce Clearing House, 1932).

Politically and socially, such a concentration of economic power is extremely dangerous. We are properly proud that we have led the way into greater and greater political democracy. Our deepest natures respond to the immortal declaration of Abraham Lincoln that our government is one not only of the people, but also by and for the people. God grant that we may always be true to that ideal. For this is merely the political expression of the basic teachings of the Christian religion that the development of the human personality is the most important of earthly tasks and that it is God's goal for man.

But it is difficult, and indeed almost impossible, to maintain this democracy for long once the control of industry becomes concentrated in a few hands. Nearly three centuries ago Harrington, the political theorist of the Commonwealth, wrote in his *Oceana*, "He who is the bread-giver is the law-maker. If a man feed the people, they have become his serfs."

No abstainer from politics can possibly understand the power which the big business groups wield on every level of government. They have the money to finance campaigns. The big newspapers, save for a number of honorable exceptions, feel a general community of interests with them. Their executives, attorneys, and those who render them service set the tone and pattern for most suburban communities and clubs. Those politicians and public officials who go along with the monopoly program and purposes are rewarded. Those who do not, have the batteries of wrath and vilification turned against them. They are denounced as dangerous radicals, as enemies of the people, and as the worst of men.

The man who would serve the people in politics should and does expect this. He must be ready, as the slang phrase goes, "to take it." But this is not the point. The real point is the difficulty in winning elections for the people's cause and then of being able to carry out the people's program in the face of pressure compounded of blandishments, publicity, and power. Political democracy is a mighty and invaluable weapon, but the struggle to defend the interests of the people must always be waged against a mighty current. It can be victorious only by almost superhuman methods.

The result is that the issue of monopoly is by no means as well

understood as it should be. People vaguely realize that they are more and more drifting into the control of the colossi, but they do not know what to do about it.

Before I turn to what I regard as a constructive program for dealing with this question, let me indicate what I do not think should be done. I do not believe that the way out is for the government to take over the ownership of the monopolies, for then political and economic power would be put into one set of hands. If there is one lesson which life should teach, it is that it is intolerable to have such absolute power lodged in any one group of persons. Just as monopolists abuse their power when they control the state, so would bureaucrats and party leaders abuse their power were they to control the monopolies. If men's jobs were put under the control of the state, then those who controlled the state would inevitably use their power to punish those who dissented or were in opposition. A party which began by adhering to democratic processes would in all probability, once it gained power, become totalitarian; for its leaders would almost inevitably come to regard their opponents as evil-intentioned men who should be kept down and prevented from making converts. These dissenters certainly would not be given jobs in government employment, they would not be given government credit or public contracts. In short, economic intimidation could, and in all probability would, be exercised against dissenters with such strength that few could stand up against it. Men would not, in fact, be free. We would merely have jumped from the frying pan of private monopoly into the fire of an all-powerful state. This, of course, does not mean that all public enterprise is wrong. The post office and most schools cannot be handled privately, the great river valleys where the fall of water is rapid are capable under public control of yielding great benefits, and housing for low-income groups is properly a public question, but we should not go too far. For the moral is, I think, clear. For men to be free, power should be diffused. All should have enough power to be relatively secure against oppression, but none should have so much that they can oppress others. This being so, it follows that we should strive to obtain a greater diffusion of property and of business. This should bring

increased production, less severe depressions, a more vivid interest in the affairs of life, and far greater self-reliance and freedom.

A real function of government is to help clear out the overgrowth of monopoly and to help restore competition. This it can do by the following methods:

1. Vigorously enforce the Sherman Antitrust Act. We are the only country in the Western world, so far as I know, which has definite statutes against monopoly. Except for infrequent periods we have not in the past really sought to enforce these prohibitions against "combinations in restraint of trade." Despite this fact, the legislation has had a distinctly restraining influence. In the last few years, Attorney General Tom C. Clark has moved more forcefully than any of his predecessors against some of the bigger monopolies and cartels. This campaign deserves to be supported and extended.

2. Outlaw the basing point system. Under the basing point system, all firms in an industry tend to fix prices according to the price at a given place plus the transportation costs from that place to others so that different firms will thereby fix identical prices to a given purchaser. The system thus becomes an easy device whereby firms can carry out price agreements. By accepting the price leadership of a big concern, small companies, for the sake of security, give up their chance to grow through reducing costs and prices.

3. Change our patent system so that inventions cannot be withheld from use and the reward to the inventor is not extended to give a monopoly to the producer. In other words, we should at least explore the possibility that patents be freely used by those who would pay a licensing fee. This would make the fruits of knowledge available for all.

4. Require competitive bidding for the flotation of wider and wider areas of industrial securities. This should result in lower indemnity charges and a breaking of the hold which small groups of investment bankers have had upon the major industries of the country. With their monopoly over financing broken, the control of the investment over boards of directors will diminish and industry will become more decentralized.

5. Develop cheap and coöperative forms of credit for small busi-

ness. It is frequently impossible for sound, small enterprises to get loans from private banks. While the Reconstruction Finance Corporation does give some relief to these concerns, this can only be incomplete, and, in general, it is not desirable to have the government make direct loans to business if a better way can be found. I would suggest that there is a need for coöperative or mutual banks for small firms, similar to the old Schulze-Delitsch banks in Germany, the coöperative banks for agriculture in this country, and the credit unions.

6. Maintain and develop the family-size farm. Every effort should be made to avoid huge estates, farm tenantry, and a landless horde of farm laborers.

These are merely a few of the main steps which can and should be taken.

We came into being as a nation dedicated to the widest diffusion of property and to the decentralization of political power. That doctrine is still a good one. If the city worker owns something, if the small businessman owns something, if the farmer owns something, if the voluntary association owns something, this wide diffusion of property carries with it a wide diffusion of political power. Each man tends to be strong enough to resist bigness as he meets it in any quarter, and no man is so big that he can trample any other man under foot. It is under conditions of this sort that freedom and security are attainable in the same society, and it is to the establishment of these conditions which we, as a nation, must dedicate ourselves.

PART TWO

The Survey Award

MISTER PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE: Survey Associates, publishers of the *Survey* magazine, last year established the annual *Survey* Award: "It is the intent of the *Survey* to recognize an outstanding, particular achievement in techniques or operation within the wide range of health and welfare activities, including legislation, interpretation, planning, and organization. No one is barred because of eminence, but the creative and imaginative will be the determining factor."

I am pleased to announce for the Award Committee (Robert E. Bondy, Chairman, Joseph P. Anderson, Reginald M. Atwater, M.D., Grace L. Coyle, Sidney Hollander, Donald Howard, Robert T. Lansdale, Robert P. Lane, John McDowell, G. Howland Shaw) that the 1949 award has been made to Arthur J. Altmeyer, Commissioner, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency.

Citation of Arthur J. Altmeyer

BY ROBERT E. BONDY, IN BEHALF OF SURVEY AWARD
COMMITTEE, JUNE 14, 1949

Mr. Altmeyer, this annual *Survey* Award is for imaginative and constructive contribution to social work. You merit this award for your pioneering in the social security program of this country, for your able and constructive administration of that program, for your development of the International Relief Organization, and for your persistent keeping of social welfare interests before the United Nations through your membership on the Social Commission of that body.

First in your own state of Wisconsin, then in the nation and in other nations you have pointed the way from the morass of economic insecurity to the more solid ground of social security, and that undergirding indispensable to the well-being of people in this day's world. You have stood for the administration of this program in the interest of the insured and the recipients.

You have courageously and continually reported on the social security needs of people to legislative bodies and to the public. You have carried responsibility for the setting up and for the efficient administration of the biggest insurance system in the world.

The standing of welfare services in the United Nations today is largely due to your clarity and persistence of advocacy. To the displaced persons of the world, your imaginative leadership in the formation of the International Relief Organization has brought hope and life itself.

In presenting this *Survey* Award to you, I speak, therefore, not only for Survey Associates, the Award Committee, and for social work itself for your important contribution to it, but also for the many people in this world who are better off because of you. We and they are happy in this recognition and are delighted that you are here tonight to respond in your own way.

Acceptance Speech Delivered by Arthur J. Altmeyer
AT PRESENTATION OF SURVEY AWARD

I am deeply grateful for the honor conferred upon me by this *Survey* Award; but aside from my personal happiness at being the recipient of this award, I am impressed by the significance of the award itself. It seems to me that the establishment of this award is an indication in itself of the character that modern social work has assumed. There was a time when social work was more or less synonymous with private charity. However, today's concept of social work is quite different. It recognizes that consideration of the needs of the individual inevitably requires consideration of the environmental forces which affect the well-being of the individual. That is to say, social work has extended its unique skills to the broader field of social policy, including the development and use of all resources—local, national, international—to promote the well-being of individuals and of families generally. In other words, we no longer think in terms of a few underprivileged and disadvantaged persons, but we think in terms of all individuals and families. We think not only in terms of "cure" or even "prevention" but in af-

firmative terms of actively promoting well-being rather than simply avoiding ill-being.

Naturally, as a government official I am most concerned with, and aware of, the significance of governmental undertakings in the field of social work. Therefore, I am doubly happy to be the recipient of this award because I believe that granting it to a government official is a recognition by the social work profession of the increased importance of governmental activity in the field of social work.

I think that few people outside social workers themselves realize that public expenditures for social work exceed expenditures for any other governmental purpose except national defense. With this growth in the scope of governmental activity, there is an increasing need for coördination of all activities, both governmental and private, in the field of social work. Fortunately, the profession of social work is essentially an integrating profession, involving as it does the utilization of the skills of other professions and of all community resources. Therefore, I have every confidence that the social work profession will meet this challenge and in so doing discharge its basic responsibility of promoting the maximum well-being of the individual through the maximum use of all social agencies, public and private.

In addition to this immediate task confronting social workers there is the larger responsibility falling upon social workers in promoting constructive social thinking and social action generally. In a world that has suffered and is continuing to suffer so grievously from what one might term "disembodied science" and "disembodied professions," I submit that the profession of social work has an essential and unique role to perform. Social workers must continue to emphasize and re-emphasize that the success or failure of all political and economic institutions, whether local, national, or international, must be measured by their effect upon the well-being of people. That is the acid test, and if actually applied, may help us to keep our bearing in a world of confusion, upheaval, and terrific change. In a word, I believe that social workers can help keep the banner of democracy floating high above this seething battle of conflicting forces, because the essence of social work is faith in the common man and faith in the willing coöperation of free men.

PART THREE

A Report of Section and Associate Group Meetings

By MARION ROBINSON

THE STRUGGLE to reconcile what appears to be a conflict between freedom for each and security for all in our society was the dominant theme of the Seventy-sixth National Conference of Social Work. Speakers at the General Sessions approached the question from many different angles, but each approached it as a philosophical whole. The same theme ran through the meetings of the fifteen sections and the forty-nine associate and special groups, but here it was more often implicit than explicit, the many facets of the conflict showing up in terms of everyday problems.

I. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

PERHAPS THE PROBLEM which came closest to the major theme was that of securing and maintaining civil and economic rights; for this, as discussed by Louis Wirth and Walter P. Reuther, and later developed by Benjamin E. Youngdahl, was a point where freedom for each and security for all were most clearly interrelated.

It is easy to insist on human rights for those we like, said Jane Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, addressing the opening meeting of the section on methods of social action, but what about those we hate and fear? It is possible, she went on, that our confusion arises from a lack of understanding of the basis for human rights. This she defined as "deriving from the particular function of being." So far as man's relation to his government in this matter is concerned, she said that "the source of human rights transcends the state or government, but the state has the role of affirming and pro-

tecting human rights." Since life can be maintained only if the essentials of living are assured, she declared, social workers have an obligation to work for an adequate social security system in order to give human rights reality. The social worker's concern is that individuals and groups have economic and social status that is consistent with human dignity and development, and thus they must, at the same time, render specialized services and remain aware of the economic and social forces affecting individuals.

The problems of specific groups in our population in gaining an "economic and social status consistent with human dignity and development" constituted a major subtheme of the Conference. At some points this came out in relation to minority groups, such as the American Indians; at others, in terms of groups involved in a situational experience, such as the displaced persons; and, in still other instances, the discussion centered on great groups of our population which are affected by widespread and currently debated services, such as public assistance and medical care.

Cutting across the whole of these discussions were analyses and estimates of the trends in thinking and feeling which contribute to the cultural changes we are experiencing.

Two sessions sponsored by the Indian Affairs Forum were devoted to the problems of the migrated Indian and description of two important projects in Wisconsin and North Dakota which are helping toward economic independence for Indians. A panel discussion of representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Save the Children Federation, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs presented a planned private welfare program for the Navajo Indians in supplementation of the Federal program. This too was an attempt to point the way to "rehabilitation rather than pauperization."

In his remarks concerning the adjustment of the Indian off the reservation, Charles L. McEvers, Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee's work with Indians of the Southwest, said that, in general, these problems stem from the low educational level among reservation Indians, a lack of receptiveness in the non-Indian community, the rapid tempo of life and impersonality of

human relationships common among city dwellers, and a reluctance to use the ordinary assistance agencies. The last, he said, grows largely out of "a background of unfortunate experience in dealings with the white man and his organizations." The success of an Indian Center program operated by his organization in Los Angeles seemed to be due, he said, to an avoidance of intellectual domination by non-Indians in the program planning, and an avoidance of accepting one or two Indian viewpoints as representative of the whole picture of Indian thinking.

A factor in the present American scene which will bring to the fore not only those civil rights which have been written into our statute books but the attitudes which underlie those legal rights, is the coming of displaced persons to this country under the terms of the Act passed by the Eightieth Congress. The fact that the impact of this program is already being felt by community agencies was shown by the place which this new aspect of immigration and citizenship assumed in several part of the Conference program.

Speaking to the audience at a luncheon sponsored by the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship in coöperation with five other national organizations, D.P. Commissioner Edward M. O'Connor reported on a recent six weeks' tour of D.P. camps in Europe. The slowness in processing cases is due to the fact that a minimum of twenty-three stages must be gone through for each assurance, he reported. This used to take an average of four months, but the rate is now being speeded up. The Commissioner said that thanks to the state commissions and the voluntary agencies in America, the time required on this side of the Atlantic to complete resettlement was much shorter. However, he paid tribute to the United States Public Health Service doctors and some of the United States consuls who are giving "long hours of devoted service."

Mr. O'Connor stressed the need for communities to understand that the Commission itself cannot sponsor D.P.'s and cannot engage in resettlement activities. These responsibilities rest with the individual sponsors and community groups who work with state commissions and the thirteen voluntary agencies who have been certified by the commission. Saying that once the family arrives it is

dependent on the voluntary agencies, the Commissioner emphasized the need for coördinated planning in communities to facilitate resettlement and real absorption.

Speaking on the same program, Joseph E. Beck, Executive Director of United Service for New Americans, stressed the need for a more humanitarian attitude toward the resettlement program. The program of none of the participating governments is governed by "a true spirit of helpfulness," said Mr. Beck, and the D.P.'s who have already been victimized by fascism, war, and persecution have now also been "victimized by faint-heartedness, disinterest, and self-interest." Citing case histories to illustrate his point, he said that procedure, restrictions and an administrative self-protectiveness had become more important than common humanity and human sympathy, out of which a good resettlement program must come.

In spite of our limitations the possibilities of successful settlement are probably greater here than in any other land because of the protection afforded by our laws and the services that are available from our government. However, Mr. Beck said that we must continue to work for the most important principle in successful resettlement—community acceptance. "The community must be prepared to work patiently with the displaced person even though at times he may seem to be unappreciative, aggressive, or slow," he said. Responsibility for the D.P. should be clearly placed so that he does not get caught between committees and between agencies, and it is preferable that this responsibility should carry with it the task of coördination, as well as promoting and improvising ways to meet his special needs.

On a program sponsored by his own organization, Mr. Beck stated that the backbone of the D.P. program in this country is the assurance provided by voluntary agencies. Approximately 80 percent of all assurances today have been initiated and sponsored by these agencies or expedited by them in behalf of individual assurers. Mr. Beck paid tribute to the magnificent job being done by the D.P. Commission, saying that those who work closely with the Commission are "confident that no legalistic interpretation will ever outweigh the humanitarian" in their work. The voluntary agency, he described as "the bridge between the community and the D.P."

Enthusiastic accounts of community experience in helping with the adjustment of D.P.'s was given on this program of the United Service for New Americans. Mrs. Jules Bank, of Columbia, South Carolina, told of the integration of four new families into Columbia's Jewish community, and Orville Keesey, of Claremont, California, described the community adoption plan which that town of 5,000 population had worked out.

Representing a state D.P. commission, Werner W. Boehm, of the Department of Social Work at the University of Wisconsin, appeared on the same program with Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Beck. Mr. Boehm reported that a survey of state programs showed that twenty-six states have D.P. commissions. A variety of administrative structures has been set up, the predominant one being the independent committee organized under the direct authority of the governor. Three successive phases of activity are now going on in these commissions: research regarding housing and vocational opportunities; planning and preparation through coördination of state and local services for the reception of D.P.'s; and resettlement activities, such as services regarding housing, vocational counseling, and community interpretation. It is already clear, he reported, that much effort will be necessary to understand and interpret the cultural differences of the newcomers. Present recommendations are that state cases have available direct services on the local level and creation of new ones, if necessary, and citizen participation, including that of the D.P.'s themselves, in the planning of these services.

An interpretive discussion of citizenship and family adjustment was given by Janet Siebold, Casework Adviser of the International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit. "As long as there are nations, even united nations, citizenship will have vital significance in the lives of men," said this speaker, who felt that the D.P. resettlement program would bring this fact home to caseworkers in many kinds of agencies over the country. Family agency caseworkers often ignore the importance of citizenship status, she said, and this can seriously complicate the lives of an individual or his family. She illustrated this point with several case histories and made a plea for caseworkers to take a more active part in work for constructive changes in our naturalization and immigration laws. Pointing out

that the new citizen, like all other human beings, is vitally in need of "a sense of belonging," she said that caseworkers and casework agencies should be concerned with "a fusion of personal acceptance and social responsibility for all peoples of the world." Widening circles of social communication and organization are forcing us into new knowledge of our fellow men and broader vision of the interdependence of men and of nations, she concluded, and "only by extending our human relations can we hope to create understanding among nations."

Economic issues.—The struggle to resolve the freedom-security conflict came out equally clear in discussions of economic problems, for here the pull between asserting economic rights and hanging on to what Ralph Blanchard had referred to as "our lingering dreams of individual economic independence" came to the fore. "The right to work must be established in America," declared Russ Nixon, Washington representative of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, speaking at a meeting sponsored by the Joint Committee of Trade Unions in Social Work. The slack between current unemployment and "any reasonable definition of full employment" now equals nearly five million, Mr. Nixon said. He made a plea for the United States to achieve full employment, saying that to fail in this task would be "to fail the most crucial test of democracy."

The union welfare fund, as a device to insure economic security while preserving the dignity of the individual, was debated at a group meeting of the section on industrial and economic problems, while in another group meeting, industry's developing services in behalf of the worker's welfare were described. At the latter session Dr. Jean S. Felton, Medical Director at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, stated that medicine in industry had "metamorphosed from a simple first-wrapping system to a complex preventive medicine service" which recognizes that health involves physical, mental, emotional, and social well-being.

Speaking at the same session, Hazel Kyrk, Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, said that the special problems of married women workers need attention, since over a fifth of all married women living with their hus-

labor market, and their numbers have increased 80 percent since 1940. The limitation of job opportunities, because of discontinuity of work and geographic restriction to the area of the husband's employment, and the problem created by family responsibilities are the chief trouble spots, said this speaker. These problems constitute one aspect of

the co-existence of two essentially different systems of human association, rights and responsibilities—one an institutional system theoretically based on the ideals of equal opportunity and power of movement, individual responsibility, rewards and penalties, and the other, the family with rights and responsibilities based on marital status and blood relationship.

The family reduces the married woman worker's ability "to sell her own services under the same conditions as other workers and gives her special responsibilities that others do not have," said Miss Kyrk.

"The question of employer contributions to benefit funds has become a major issue in industrial relations," said John W. Whittlesey, specialist in labor relations for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. Many employers who are really concerned about their employees' welfare hesitate to adopt programs that the condition of their business would not permit them to undertake, he said. He urged against "hastily contrived plans which are likely to get into financial difficulty," and said that the failure of the Taft-Hartley Act to permit collective bargaining over pensions only at the choice of the employer will probably result in upsetting "the regular, orderly adoption of sound, workable plans based on the capabilities of the individual company and not on union theories of what ought to be undertaken."

The move into supplementary security programs under collective bargaining via establishment of union welfare funds was defended by Harry Becker, Director of the UAW-CIO Social Security Department, as part of a necessary "two-way drive for social security." The fact that unions are beginning to bargain collectively to obtain social security and hospital and medical care programs does not mean a relaxation of labor's efforts to secure public programs, he said. But with the expansion of industrialization, personal

insecurity has become "a major threat to our democratic society," and even full employment and high wage standards do not in themselves meet the problem of providing security against the hazards of sickness, death, and old age. Said Mr. Becker:

With the advent of a public social security system we had hoped to move away from the concept of poor relief and all that it implies. But the fact remains that today public poor relief is still by and large the basic program which workers must fall back upon in the event of need for income maintenance benefits. Public poor relief as the basic program for security is rejected by labor as inconsistent with the principles of a democratic society.

The means test is obsolete, said this speaker, and the money expended in establishing eligibility for relief he termed an "economic waste."

The worker on the assembly line and in the shops is no less a concern and responsibility of management than the higher paid executive personnel, for whom it has already accepted the principle of security benefits through retirement income and continuation of salaries during periods of disability, said Mr. Becker. Broader programs of security can be afforded, he contended, when we take into account the fact that purchasing power for the workers of America will be maintained, thus aiding our whole economic system.

Public welfare programs are peculiarly concerned with the joint objectives of freedom and security, declared J. Sheldon Turner, of the Social Security Administration's Bureau of Public Assistance, in addressing the opening meeting of the public welfare section. The public welfare functions of government have come to be of major importance in securing the social and economic rights which now take their place beside the traditional and older group of civil and political rights. "The coin of human freedom is being stamped anew," said Mr. Turner. "It still carries on one face the figure of civil and political rights and it is seen now to have stamped on the other the image of social and economic rights."

Whereas the emphasis of civil and political rights is for the most part on protecting man against government, the development of the public welfare function is "evidence that the people of our

country are learning to use their government" to meet their needs and to protect themselves against hazards of the society in which we live.

Speaking on the same program with Mr. Turner, Grace Browning, Director of Indiana University's Division of Social Service, discussed the effect of modern developments in public welfare on professional education and staff development. Since 1917, when the first state department of public welfare was set up, "progress in both education and public welfare seems incredible," this speaker commented. An average of 4.2 courses dealing exclusively with public welfare is offered by the two-year graduate schools of social work, and the "contents of almost all courses has been enriched immeasurably by materials emanating from public welfare." From one third to one half of the time of each graduate student is "spent in acquiring skill in one or more of the social work processes," since "government's new relationship to its citizens in the last analysis will be judged primarily by the skill of the individual representative of government who meets the applicant and who sets in motion the helping process."

Critical staff shortages in public assistance agencies could be greatly relieved by extension of the social insurances, said this speaker, whose opinion it is that "we should not base a permanent educational system on the assumption that it will be necessary to continue to furnish minimum maintenance on the basis of a means test to large portions of our population, even though we recognize that some provision for public assistance may be always necessary." She also commented that although governmental responsibilities have been rapidly extended through Federal leadership and funds, it has not been accompanied by governmental provision such as school subsidies or scholarship programs, to increase opportunities for education.

The double-barreled problem of relating public assistance payments to recipients' needs and obtaining public acceptance of such payments was discussed on another program of the section on public welfare. Speaking from the point of view of the state public welfare agency, Loa Howard, Administrator of the Oregon State Public Welfare Commission, said that the problem of relating payments

to need was a problem to be solved through technical means, but that adequacy of assistance was basically dependent on public ability and willingness to be taxed. It was her feeling that state agencies should help stimulate independent research into the related problems of taxation and dependency so that the public could have an objective basis for decision.

Speaking from the point of view of the local public welfare agency, Thomas J. S. Waxter, Director of the Baltimore Department of Public Welfare, said that the basic problem in reaching an estimate of need which is usually reckoned on the basis of the amount necessary for minimal living in a particular community at a given time is to decide what items beyond those of food, clothing, shelter, and items of household maintenance are to be considered necessary. Various pressures within each community lead to the adoption of a formula as to the qualitative nature of the assistance grant, he said, but even when standards have been set up and estimates made, the problem of obtaining public acceptance remains. Acceptance by executive and legislative authorities depends on the approval of the general public or rather "perhaps whether the pressures upon the executive and legislative authorities are sufficiently strong, one way or the other, regardless of the feelings of the majority of the citizens who make up the body politic."

In coming to grips with the problem of acquainting the citizens of a community "with the sordid facts surrounding a small and largely nonvocal group of men, women, and children living in social and economic distress," one must recognize that many do not agree with the objectives of social welfare, and others "do not care what happens to other people as long as it does not happen to them." These objectors are "not evil or wanton people," but have deep-rooted ideas and prejudices which many Americans have carried for generations. The chief of these is that the person in need finds himself in that situation because of some defect within himself. This association of guilt and inadequacy with the applicant for relief comes from an attitude that influences many other fields of endeavor, and "it is simply a denial of common sense," said the speaker, "not to realize that while there is a large and vitally im-

portant element of self-determination in each individual, each of us is largely shaped by the totality of environmental factors which are brought to play upon our development as human personalities."

The truth is, said Mr. Waxter, that most persons in economic distress want, far more than the agency or anonymous taxpayer, to become self-supporting, contributing citizens of the community. Furthermore, experience shows that public assistance clients react to assistance received in accordance with the manner in which it is granted. "Public assistance must be administered," he said, "in such a way as to bring out the best the individual is capable of and should not be administered so as to thrust the applicant further down, both in his own and the community's esteem."

The most valuable publicity program begins with the morale of the average staff member of each welfare agency, Mr. Waxter concluded, mentioning several projects undertaken by his agency in an effort to keep the community better informed. These included a seminar for clergymen, a series of planned lunches with state and local legislators, organization of a large citizens advisory council, and an attempt to secure regular weekly time on television and radio programs.

The program of the Missouri Association for Social Welfare in obtaining better public acceptance of an adequate public assistance program was described by Mary E. Brooks, Executive Secretary of the Association. Study, research, and discussion among committees and boards which represented an occupational and geographical cross section, distribution of popularly written reports on Association studies, discussion at conferences held in the state, speakers furnished to community groups, and newspaper releases and radio presentations were the five points of the Association's educational program. Such a state-wide citizens' organization makes its most effective contribution, she reported, by using community organization methods to bring together all segments of the public and help them to a realization of their responsibility as citizens for those persons dependent on public assistance.

Speaking on a program sponsored by the Family Service Association of America, in coöperation with the American Home Economics Association, the American Public Welfare Association, and

the Life Insurance Adjustment Bureau, Robert P. Wray, Deputy Secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance, suggested that a study group be set up to work on suggested principles to be followed by private and governmental agencies in counseling families on the best use of resources. Today there is more respect for the individual and the impact of social and economic factors upon him, said Mr. Wray, but "we have not yet found a reasonable balance between what a person does for himself and what others must do for him." There is a question as to how far it is possible or expedient for government to go in "underwriting sound family economics," he said, and it would be well to carry the discussion to every state, get a broad forum of opinion, and "see what the areas of agreement are."

A variety of other aspects of economic security came up for discussion on the program. Shall public assistance or social insurance be the basic measure of protection against the loss of income from permanent and total disability? What merit does the system of children's allowances hold for this country? What are the pros and cons of pending plans for medical care?

At the final session of the public welfare section, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Associate Editor, *American Economic Security*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, argued that "rehabilitation should be the key word in approaching the problem of long-term disability." Further, support for the disabled person prior to vocational rehabilitation should come from voluntary agencies and public assistance, he declared, for "the bed should not be made too soft if the aim is to encourage the patient to arise and stand on his feet."

On the other hand, social insurance is successfully overcoming the threat of destitution from unemployment, old age, and death, contended Alvin M. David, Chief, Program Planning Branch, Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance, and should also be the method of protection against income loss from long-term disability. The risk of disability is predictable and insurable, he said, and social insurance follows the traditional pattern of independence and self-reliance, with benefits secured as an earned right and not because of indigence.

The children's allowance system is a way of compensating for the heavier economic burdens placed as a result of social and industrial changes on the parents of the average North American child, said George F. Davidson, Canada's Deputy Minister of Health and Welfare. Whereas the child in the years before the Industrial Revolution ceased to be dependent on his parents at the seventh or twelfth year, today's child is dependent until his fourteenth or twenty-fourth years. The extent to which the economic burden of rearing the nation's children falls on the shoulders of a small segment of the population is shown by the fact that in Canada in 1944, it was found that 84 percent of the nation's children under sixteen years of age were dependent for their maintenance on 19 percent of the employed population. "The basic underlying purpose of this vast Canadian social experiment," said Mr. Davidson, "is to effect a redistribution of the nation's income—a redistribution for the urgent social purpose of focusing the nation's attention on the fact that our future as a nation, indeed our very survival, depends on the quality of the nation's children."

One of the most fatal changes brought about by modern economy, said Alva Myrdal, Acting Assistant Secretary-General for the Department of Social Affairs of the United Nations, is that "incomes accrue to the productive groups while the nonproductive groups are not provided for in any systematic way." Social security has made an effort to redress the balance of its programs for care of the unemployed, the aged, and the sick, but "very few outright and systematic surveys have shown that children and the young are exactly in the same category." Mrs. Myrdal compared the use of family or children's allowances and income tax exemption in the various countries to alleviate the economic burden of rearing children, and concluded by saying that "national plans for investment in the young" might or might not include family allowances, but the relations between this plan and other investments should be "studied with great care and conscientiousness."

One much discussed question of current public concern which was aired at several spots on this Conference program was the question of medical care and how it can be improved and extended to more of the citizens of our country. At the first meeting of the

health section, the question was debated by Dr. Ernest E. Irons, President of the American Medical Association, and Albert Deutsch, health and welfare reporter for the New York *Daily Compass*. Dr. Irons, pointing out that leaders of social movements are impatient, said he believed in continued improved health for the American people but that this must be done "without destroying the values we now have." More physicians are needed, he admitted, but educational standards must be protected. The fundamental principle of social work is to help people to help themselves, and welfare programs which involve high taxes should not be allowed to lead to nonproductivity. Nor should it be overlooked, he added, that a monopoly of welfare is just as dangerous as business monopoly.

Because 80 percent of the American people cannot afford the cost of serious illness under the private fee service, and 50 percent find it difficult or impossible to meet even the cost of ordinary sickness, Mr. Deutsch advocated the passage of national compulsory health insurance as "a better buy for the medical care consumer than anything else now on the market." The bill, Mr. Deutsch contended, proposes a system that is cheaper without sacrificing high standards, "more efficient than hundreds of disoriented voluntary plans," and one which includes practical methods for relieving current shortages and is infused with democratic principles. Mr. Deutsch said he believed that such a system "would be good for doctors as well as patients," allowing them to practice good medicine with fair economic returns, enhancing their prestige in the community, and "giving what the best of them always seek—a stake in health, rather than in sickness."

At a meeting sponsored by the National Consumers League, Dr. Channing Frothingham, Chairman of the Committee for the Nation's Health in Boston, also supported President Truman's health bill. Alternative plans which have been proposed he did not approve because he felt they did not offer sufficiently comprehensive medical care. Furthermore, they would require a means test which would be expensive and difficult to administer. Under these plans, also, the base from which funds are collected will not be broadened as it should be. The Administration bill, he said, will "produce

money enough to do the job as well as the people want it done, because they can vote as much money as they wish for this purpose" and "the funds will be collected from a much broader base than if paid for from general taxes."

On another program sponsored by the health section, Dr. Paul R. Hawley, Chief Executive Officer of the Blue Cross-Blue Shield Commissions, stated his opposition to compulsory health insurance in terms of his personal political faith leading to a belief that "we can progress without limit within the theory of government which we have followed until recently." He said he was greatly concerned lest we adopt a proposal which will radically change "the pattern of medical care which has produced the highest quality in the entire history of medicine." If advisers and policy-making bodies would confine their activities to those functions, he said the operation of a government project would not be greatly handicapped. However, his thirty-two years of government experience made him feel that such bodies are "constitutionally unable to refrain from operation, either directly or through control of finances."

The consumers of medical care are as important in policy-making and program-planning as the providers of medical care, said Dr. Edwin F. Daily, Director of Health Services of the Children's Bureau, speaking at the annual dinner of the American Association of Medical Social Workers. Dr. Daily also emphasized that any restrictions of age, sex, race, creed, residence, and income which are now a barrier to good medical care should be eliminated as soon as possible. Regardless of the direction of further medical care in this country, Dr. Daily said it was essential that we maintain adequately trained personnel, adequate and accessible medical facilities, comprehensive and balanced service, soundly financed medical care, and efficiency in its organization and administration.

A report on the first year's experience under the British National Health Service was made by John G. Hill, Director of Research at the Philadelphia Health and Welfare Council. Well over 90 percent of the country's general practitioners had signed up for either full-time or part-time work with the service by last April, Mr. Hill said—a number that went beyond the expectation of both the profession and the government. At present, much of the adverse criti-

cism of the service is based on current shortages of personnel and facilities to meet the demands placed upon them. The ultimate solution of the problem involves both better distribution of doctors and an increase in their number, although the latter will take many years even with the medical schools full to capacity. Although there are conflicting reports about the quality of care being rendered under the service, Mr. Hill said that there is "substantial evidence that the mass of people are on the whole receiving better care." Many of the gloomy predictions which preceded establishment of the service have not materialized, he said. There are no complaints of clinical interference on the part of the government, the relationship between the doctor and patient remains undisturbed, and the incentives of the medical profession have not been destroyed. Increased numbers of students are seeking admission to the country's medical schools, and "many say that the hospitals in Britain have been given new life and scope."

Society and mental health.—Symptoms and causes of our current basic conflicts were assessed and analyzed from yet another point of view in a meeting of the mental hygiene section, where Dr. Daniel Blain, Medical Director of the American Psychiatric Association, and Dr. J. D. M. Griffin, Medical Director of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, discussed mental health and national security. The mental health of the individual is related to the mental health of society as a whole, said Dr. Blain, and mental health is threatened by "the flow of events in the national and world picture." War and pseudo peace, economic crimes, group hysteria, and witch hunts, stifling of opportunity for work, education, marriage and starting of a family—all of these take their toll. Today we are threatened too by the conflict over political philosophies—on the one hand, "a bigger and stronger central government, which gradually takes over individual planning and self-determination, is regarded as a dreaded monster," while on the other hand "proponents of the trend look forward with anticipation of greater benefits for all, welcoming a strong central government for its beneficence and discarding the possibilities of an autocratic, stifling paternalism."

The trends which Dr. Blain himself was concerned about were

the tendency "to worship administrative techniques as opposed to getting on with the job," "the threat of bigness," the danger of vested interests, chronicity, loss of initiative, and, finally, "the possibility of losing the big opportunity."

An "overhead, parasitic growth" is developing in organizations because there are "too many tellers and too few doers," declared Dr. Blain, adding that we must have good methods, good techniques and personnel practices, but "they must not be made more important than the job itself." The tendency of groups and organizations to become bigger "must be observed, studied, and often denied," he said, although "realignment of forces, revolutionary growth, reorganization, are all to the good, provided there is also redistribution, willingness to call a job done and quit, the possibility of growing smaller with good grace." The vested interest of professionals of various skills must give way in the interests of getting a job done, he said, making a plea for the psychiatrist, psychologist, nurse, and social worker to "get together with generosity and mutual respect and make the most of all the opportunities that are available or can be developed." He condemned chronicity in a world where change means growth. "Old age comes faster than the years when stagnation is also present," he said.

The threat of national apathy lies in possible loss of initiative as a result of the tendency "to let the Great White Father in Washington take care of us," warned Dr. Blain. We can only be really happy and mentally healthy with the kind of psychological security "which gives us inner peace and confidence, and the knowledge that we can take what comes, we can husband our resources and build on them, and that we are free of our own dependent attitudes and have our self-respect."

The final fear voiced by the mental hygienist was that the opportunity of these times to build a sound mental health program might be lost. There is a great upsurge of interest in mental health, and many people are asking for leadership, knowledge, and a program:

The responsibility lies on medicine, psychiatric social work, clinical psychology, psychiatric nursing, recreation and rehabilitation experts to furnish leadership. Professional and civilian organizations must join forces to use the current enthusiasm and current needs to find and

produce resources that can be used now and later. The program of every state and organization must be reviewed. Careful, selfless planning by all interested parties will be necessary. . . . We have a crucial five years to take advantage of the opportunity to build a lasting program, or to fail and see a regression to lower levels of interest and a long road back.

The effect of basic social and cultural conflicts on the patterns of mental health was discussed by Dr. Griffin. Children and adolescents today have been exposed to as many as three or four totally different and incompatible philosophies of child training, he said. There are conflicts inherent in the cultural lags of our society, such as our value system in connection with sexual behavior, as was revealed by the Kinsey report. Another set of conflicts is created by discrepancies between the value systems of our primary and secondary institutions. For example, the family, school, and church endeavor to inculcate the Christian virtues, but industry and commercial and professional groups have a different set of values, which contributes to an unsettling effect on the stability and personality structure of the individual. What is called for, suggested Dr. Griffin, is the development of "a system of values, attitudes, and understandings that is much more general and universal than any ethical or knowledge system we have yet known."

There was general agreement at the International Congress of Mental Health, reported Mary E. Switzer, Assistant to the Federal Security Administrator, in a paper read for her by a colleague, Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, that the knowledge which has come from psychoanalysis, if more widely understood and used, could make a significant contribution to lasting world peace. The National Mental Health Act of 1946, which launched a nation-wide attack upon mental illness in this country, likewise takes cognizance of the need for disseminating information about the cause of mental illness and ways of maintaining mental health. The paper reported progress of the program under the Act, describing particularly a project recently started in Phoenix, Arizona, whose purpose is to work out a method whereby a minimum-sized psychiatric team can orient key groups and individuals in the community and thus spread knowledge about the application of preventive techniques.

Miss Switzer, who was attending the World Health Assembly meeting in Rome at the time of the Conference, said that the success of the international program would depend in the last analysis, upon progress made locally. "As social workers strengthen the mental health programs in their own communities," she concluded, "they help to build a more mentally healthy world."

Children made the Conference headlines at two points in terms of a coming event and of a current controversy which closely involves mental health patterns. At a meeting sponsored by the National Social Welfare Assembly, Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, reported on progress in the plans for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, to be held late in 1950. This conference, the fifth in a series held once every decade of the twentieth century, will emphasize primarily "the child and youth in his family and community," said Miss Lenroot. Increased knowledge about children since 1940 will be summarized and "agreements reached on ways and means of putting this knowledge to work and achieving goals." A number of national organizations have already taken the initiative to serve as a channel of communication and stimulation between the national committee responsible for the conference and the membership and constituencies of the organizations. This conference will "afford a mechanism through which ongoing programs may be given new or added impetus, new paths may be charted, and individuals throughout the country may take a dynamic and effective part in a nationwide program of their own making," was Miss Lenroot's prediction.

At a panel discussion held under the auspices of the section on delinquency, representatives of the motion picture, radio, and comics industries outlined current efforts to improve the quality of these products in behalf of the children of the country. Arthur DeBra, Director of the Community Relations Department of the Motion Picture Association of America, described the organization of better films councils over the country so that communities could suggest the types of pictures they would like and could mobilize to support them. He defended motion pictures against the charge of contributing to juvenile delinquency by saying that, according to the mental hygiene concepts by which social workers

practice, the juvenile delinquent's difficulties stem from lack of family affection and protection; and this being true, he felt it reasonable to assume that "the child has the makings of a juvenile delinquent long before he is exposed to mass media."

John McCormick, manager of Cleveland's Station WTAM, said that studies show that children between the ages of five and eleven listen to the radio 112 minutes per day, and that after the age of twelve, the time jumps to 163 minutes. In the year 1939-40 there were 1,500 programs for children on 372 stations, he said, and the number has now tripled. He pointed to the qualifications demanded for renewal of a station's license by the Federal Communications Commission as evidence of protection against poor programs.

A few comics publishers have overstepped the limits of decency, declared Henry E. Schultz, Executive Director of the Association of Magazine Comics Publishers, and now all are being punished because of the few. The solution to the problem lies in self-discipline on the part of the publishers, he said, describing the self-imposed code adopted by members of his association. Sociologists agree, he said, that comics have little or nothing to do with juvenile delinquency. He himself felt that it was dangerous to focus attention on comics "rather than on the real cause," and quoted Edwin Lukas as saying that comics had become "the twentieth-century whipping boy for the failure of society."

In the panel discussion which followed these presentations, Rabbi Julius J. Nodel, of The Temple, Cleveland, took up the cudgels particularly against comics, although he agreed that media are not causes of social problems but "reflections of the state of society." Comics cannot cause as much destruction as the atom bomb, but the constant emphasis on destruction appeals to sordid instincts, he added. When Simon Stickgold, Chief, Division of Special Services, Illinois Public Aid Commission, suggesting that we let children read what they wish, cited Grimm's fairy tales as proof that children have always read "blood-and-thunder stuff," Rabbi Nodel retorted, "Yes, and they have always marched off to war." Edwin F. Helman, director of Station WBOE, Board of Education, Cleveland, said that parent-teacher associations can be of great help in working with parents who wish to give their children

careful guidance in radio listening, and Ethel Brewer, of Cleveland's P.T.A., said that it was necessary for us to be practical about mass media. "If they are to be part of our life," she said, "we must work at discovering the best and supporting it. We must make good entertainment pay."

Current programs in the field of international social work were reported on at two meetings of a special section on this subject. At the first of these meetings the activities of the Economic and Social Council and the Social Commission in the field of social welfare and the current activities of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund were described by Dorothy Lally, International Activities Technical Assistant to the Commissioner, Social Security Administration, and John Charnow, Chief of the Report Section of the ICEF. The second program presented reports on overseas programs of American voluntary agencies and international voluntary agencies, and an evaluation of trends and potentialities in the voluntary agency programs.

Florence Black, social science analyst for the State Department's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid, said that problems involved in the overseas work of American voluntary agencies related mainly to coördination. She commented that as the physical needs decreased, there was a tendency of the organizations to turn to sectarian interests. The present program trend is toward pilot reconstruction projects and away from relief programs, she said. "This is a new field of social welfare," said this speaker, "and how it will develop will depend on the types of programs offered."

Wilfrid de St. Aubin, Supervisor of International Agency Relations, American Red Cross, described the functions of a number of international voluntary agencies and said that the major support of these agencies came from the West, particularly the United States. The American Red Cross program represents two thirds of all Red Cross programs, he said.

Fred K. Hoehler, Director of the State Department of Social Work of Illinois, said that our international work is marked by a disharmony which springs from lack of coördination. "We haven't yet demonstrated that in a democracy we can work together," he said. Saying that we need as much education about social work

abroad as foreign social workers need about work in this country, he urged voluntary agencies to put more emphasis on training for their overseas workers and to move in on legislation affecting international social welfare.

Overseas work is moving from postwar emergency programs to more permanent efforts, reported Mr. Hoehler. This means that workers must prepare to stay abroad longer, for a six-month tour of duty is not enough to work on these efforts to help people find solutions to their problems. We can and must strengthen coöperation with other countries, said Mr. Hoehler, through the already existing international social welfare organizations.

Social work and religion.—A re-examination of the philosophical relationship between social work and religion and an effort to uncover practical ways for the church and social work institutions to supplement each other in working toward social goals constituted a strong emphasis of this 1949 Conference. A special section on religion and social work held two sessions at the first of which Shelby M. Harrison, former Executive Director of the Babe Ruth Foundation, spoke on the perspectives and common denominators of religion and social work. The historic common denominator, Mr. Harrison said, was the taking of responsibility for offering service to meet real human needs. Though this common objective is still not fully recognized in either group, said this speaker, a full union of the great forces coöperatively meeting human needs holds tremendous potentiality. The principles for meeting human and social problems which are to be found in the Judaeo-Christian heritage need only be interpreted to meet the changing complexities of civilization, declared Mr. Harrison, making a plea for organized religion to help develop enlightened public opinion about social needs and goals. He said that religion had much to learn about the technical side of social work and that social work, in its preoccupation with techniques, had often lost sight of the large objectives.

In his remarks as a discussant on this program, the Right Rev. Monsignor Albert J. Murphy, Diocesan Director, Catholic Charities, Cleveland, said that progress in the joint effort of church and social work will depend on "a little more maturity and spirituality on the part of social workers." Father Murphy, a trained social

worker, said that as social workers we are often so anxious to get things done that we move too fast and criticize the church for moving too slowly. The dangers facing the church as a partner in work toward social goals he characterized as "a possibility that we may have moved over into middle-class organization, losing much vitality and gaining a sense of smugness," and a tendency to keep eyes on the horizon, thereby losing touch with "the everyday difficulties of a gasping world."

A second discussant, Jennie R. Zetland, Assistant Director, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago, presented from the teachings of Judaism what she believed valid for the practice of social work and discussed the contribution of social work toward implementation of those ideals "regarding man's relationship to man." In the Jewish religion, she said, a concern for the individual and a democratic principle stem from belief in the common divine origin of man. Out of the experience of slavery in Egypt and the great event of liberation, convictions about the dignity of the individual, the abhorrence of exploitation, the conception of poverty as an evil and the "right to labor and the fruits of labor" were added to the development of Jewish social philosophy. Jewish teachings stress the "sharing of the products of the field," and a further clue as to the nature of the sharing is found in the Hebrew word for charity, *zedakah*, which means justice or righteousness and signifies the right of every person to be sustained when he cannot sustain himself, as well as the word *chesed*, which means loving kindness.

The old precepts, said Mrs. Zetland, can and are being re-evaluated and enriched through our experience in the practice of social work and our greater insight into human behavior. She stressed the importance of social work discipline in expecting its practitioners to learn to understand and accept themselves as a prerequisite for understanding and accepting others, saying that the validity of this principle for social relationships as well as professional relationships constituted the great hope that the profession of social work can effectively "turn faith into works." And, she concluded, "just as social workers are expected to strive for ever increasing self-knowledge, so perhaps religious teachers, through

greater self-knowledge, can teach their congregations understanding and acceptance of difference and arouse and strengthen the positive feelings of love of man for man."

The church must go beyond the program of alleviation to the eradication of the causes which make social welfare necessary, said George D. Kelsey, Associate Executive Secretary, Field Department, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, at the opening session of the Church Conference of Social Work. In his discussion of the philosophy of voluntarism, Mr. Kelsey said that the "mass, mechanical, complex, and impersonal nature of contemporary civilization" had resulted in limited social imagination and intelligence of people, and this, in turn, had weakened the voluntary spirit. The main limitation of religiously inspired philanthropy is the social conservatism of religion, he declared, as well as religion's preoccupation with motives "which make it difficult for it to deal with an entire social situation."

In order to inspire a more adequate philosophy, it was Mr. Kelsey's opinion that the church must broaden the social horizons of people, re-emphasize the service ideal in the interest of the recovery of a sense of personal responsibility, and "combine scientific intelligence with the religious impulse."

At this and other meetings of the Church Conference, papers were given which brought out the work of the church in areas where social work also has concerns. George Stoll, Chairman of the Committee on Institutions of the Louisville Council of Churches, told of the work of twelve committees of church laymen in Louisville to aid, support, and encourage good programs in child care, health, and penal institutions. The Council's activities are based on the conviction that "congregations have something to do besides congregate," and that the people of a community are poor employers of its officials if they do not show interest in what they are trying to do. Three basic principles are adhered to in this work: first, no unfavorable public criticism of the management of the institution is ever made; secondly, the work is regarded as a "long pull," not a reform wave; and thirdly, though secretarial assistance is used, the actual work is done by laymen.

Mr. Stoll described the work of committees specifically concerned

with a mental hospital, a prison, and the juvenile court. The biggest job for the mental hospital, he said, is the constant effort to help get more money for better trained personnel, but the group had been able to send birthday or Christmas presents to patients who had no friends or relatives, supply clothing, and arrange for a trained chaplain to visit the hospital. A chaplain was provided for the prison also, and through the committee, expert assistance was given the prison administration on problems of food preparation, farm operation, and adult education courses. Mr. Stoll quoted the warden who, acknowledging his gratitude for these services, spoke of the committee members as the "civilian eyes, ears, and mouth-piece of this institution."

The third committee, after consulting the judge of the juvenile court and workers in social agencies, worked out a joint plan with the Louisville Community Chest and a local church for facilities and leadership of a Red Shield Boys Club. Proof of the value of this project lay in the fact that in the six months previous to establishment of the program there had been ninety-one arrests in the neighborhood for juvenile delinquency, and in the first six months after its establishment there was none.

The role of the church in making life more meaningful to the older person was discussed by the Rev. Paul B. Maves, research associate, also of the Federal Council. Study and observation in thirteen churches over a two-year period showed that older people in proportion to their numbers were more active in the church program than any other age group, and while the church ministers to older people in sickness and trouble, it "often exploits them rather than serves them while they are still active." It had been this clergyman's observation that older people carried an undue share of the burden of labor in behalf of church activities, possible because of the assumption that "it is somehow a bit unseemly for adults to do things just for the sake of having fun, with no thought of service."

Although ministers now are increasingly concerned about the problems of older persons, Mr. Maves found that about half the ministers he worked with during the course of his study, conducted for the Federal Council, were resistant to the notion of developing a program for older folks. This he attributed to the emotional

blocking many people in our culture have in relation to old age and older people.

The group it is most difficult for the church to help, he reported, is made up of those older people who lose status when, because of their years, they become dependent and are unable to participate in the program of the church or are unacceptable to the active members. The church as well as social welfare agencies "must come to grips with the problem of class stratification in our society and its implications for social welfare administration," said Mr. Maves.

The church can be helpful to older people by trying to further understanding of norms of personality development for each age level, including later maturity; by fostering and guiding personality growth toward goals set by these norms; by providing within the church family an atmosphere which will help people find security because they are valued for themselves; by helping, through pastoral counseling, to solve problems; and by working for change in community attitudes which mitigate against meaningful and creative old age.

This speaker urged social workers to help clergymen become more aware of the problems their parishioners face, to write on social problems for the religious journals, and to participate in church life as members. He felt too, that more joint conferences between social workers and clergymen on specific problems would be mutually helpful.

The relation of psychotherapy to religion was discussed at the final session of the section on mental health by Dr. Frederick Rosenheim, Director of the Judge Baker Guidance Center in Boston, who prefaced his paper by saying that he was a Catholic and the faith he would be speaking about was the Catholic faith. The therapy situation comprises far more than just the patient, his problems, and the therapist, said Dr. Rosenheim; it comprises God, too, and the belief that this is so gives psychotherapy a special direction. Faith does not contend with valid conclusions regarding identifications, superego formation and personality structure, nor does it disagree with valid findings about conflicts, security, and adjustment, said the speaker. However, he went on, "only with faith can one grasp the highest potentiality of the psychic structure . . . and only faith

points to the ultimate resolution of conflicts . . . uncovers the ultimate security . . . shows the essence of adjustment." The job of the therapist is to ransom his patient who struggles to free himself from guilt and sin, and though "it is hard for a therapist to go on loving a patient who hates him," it is essential that we repudiate materialism and embrace love for each other, for "the more we love each other, the more we covet the experience for all men."

In his remarks as discussant, Dr. Luther Woodward, of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, reminded his audience that some religious philosophers after conversion had held that "all men are sinful," while others, "who were as Christian or more so," maintained a basic faith in the integrity of human beings. Referring to Dr. Rosenheim's emphasis on guilt in the therapy situation, Dr. Woodward pointed to the many psychotics in our state hospitals who have broken under a burden of guilt, and expressed his own concern lest "a sin-sick type of faith generate more guilt than it can absorb." Dr. Rosenheim's definition of faith, he said, seemed insufficient in terms of self-responsibility. To him, faith implies "the affirmation of the self." Dr. Woodward said he would sum up the meaning of the relation between religion and psychotherapy in the admonition to "worship God in spirit and in truth," adding that "truth means appreciation of the significance of every part of living for every other part."

At the second session of the special section on religion and social work, discussion centered around social workers' use of church resources, with Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary of Cleveland's Welfare Federation, presenting the major paper of the meeting.

No social worker can make effective use of church resources unless he appreciates the contribution which the church has to make, said Mr. Lynde, acknowledging that some social workers are antagonistic to the church "for reasons springing out of their own emotional history." But there are many possibilities for the social worker who is able to see them. The caseworker may find that the church offers assurance to a troubled person. The group workers may discover that church facilities can be used for expanding program, or that the church itself, with skilled group work assistance, will want to inaugurate new group programs. Child welfare workers

may secure valuable help from the church in such matters as recruiting foster homes or wider interpreting of the importance of safeguards in adoption procedures. The community organizer may see that the church has a natural and logical interest in social legislation and community action which, in working partnership with the social work organizations, can benefit the community.

Another great service of the church which the social worker should tap, said Mr. Lynde, is that of furnishing the inspiration which will lead people to volunteer their time for service in social agencies. Perhaps the most fundamental contribution of the church, he said, is to promulgate principles vital to social work "if it has the concrete illustrations which the social worker can provide." Among these, the speaker mentioned "bringing about public recognition that society changes and that the changes can be to some extent controlled . . . exerting a tremendous influence on the lives of people"; helping to change people's false conceptions, such as the one which leads people to class the public dependent with the degenerate and the antisocial; and emphasizing the importance of the individual person.

The social worker can make best use of the resources of the church only if he knows many of the clergy personally, Mr. Lynde told his audience. He suggested that inviting clergymen to serve on committees and including the churches in a speakers' bureau, as well as including the clergy in institutes or conferences dealing with special problem areas, were all valuable ways of strengthening these relationships.

Comments on Mr. Lynde's paper from the point of view of the caseworker came from Mary H. O'Malley, supervisor in the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York. From experience in her own agency, she said, a demonstrated relationship between professional staff and the parish priest had resulted in both clergy and laity seeing the professional staff "as a necessary supplement to the pastoral ministry—as a general center of information and referral to other social services in the community for coöperation with them." Social workers, she added, can never lose sight of the fact that the client is endowed with both spiritual and physical

nature, and that his adjustment to life and his ultimate happiness depend on the integration of spiritual and temporal needs.

Louis Kraft, General Secretary of the National Council, National Jewish Welfare Board, speaking from the viewpoint of the social group worker, said that the church is gaining in appreciation of social group work as a method, and he himself felt that there are more reasons for a close relationship between the field of social group work and the church than for points of difference. It is possible, he said, that the approach to utilizing the resources of the church should be based on aiding the church to expand its own social group work activities rather than to centralize supervision and management of all group activities in the community's established social group work agencies. The method of lending staff from the social group work agency to work with church membership in organizing and conducting group activities under church auspices is used by some Catholic youth organizations and some Jewish community centers, he reported. Social group work has been extended into the church also by the method employed by the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, where autonomy of the church over scouting activities conducted under its auspices is recognized.

Churches understandably do not like to be used as benevolent landlords, said Mr. Kraft, but would like to be partners in a group enterprise:

If we recognize them as partners [he said] we can expect that they will endeavor to understand and work for the standards which social group work agencies have so laboriously and with such idealistic devotion tried to introduce into activities for individuals and groups. Social workers and the servants of the church do in truth have the same objectives.

II. SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

THE HISTORIC and philosophical roots of social work lie in services to individuals, and so it is logical to find discussions and analyses of these services scattered through all sections of the Conference, as well as in a majority of associate group meetings.

The contribution of social casework to social work, said Ruth Smalley, Professor of Social Casework at the University of Pittsburgh's School of Social Work, is "an understanding of the individual; an understanding of what certain kinds of social problems mean to and do to individuals; an understanding of what individuals can and do do when faced with social problems." Speaking at the opening meeting of the section on social casework, Miss Smalley told her audience that social group work and social intergroup work, though identical in broad purpose with the broad purpose of casework, differ both in the nature of the relationship used to accomplish purpose and in the nature of the specific purpose bringing social worker and clientele together. "The individual to individual relationship may be used as part of over-all social group work or intergroup activity," she said, "but it cannot be properly called social casework because the over-all purpose remains a social group work or intergroup work purpose."

It was this speaker's opinion that casework has also contributed "something in method which has application to other social work methods, and to social work processes other than at the direct service level." Now that the casework method is "geared to helping the client use his problem-solving potential" rather than to "a somewhat exclusive exercise" for the caseworker alone, the method becomes useful to supervisors and administrators in efforts to free workers and the agency as a whole to operate creatively. Other social work methods, such as social group work and intergroup work, "must make their own application of method that uses the potential of strength in the 'other'—and that emphasizes agency function and uses agency structure to help group or intergroup accomplish its purpose."

Speaking on the same program, Helen Harris Perlman, associate professor at the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration, said that the special settings in which casework is practiced have many generic elements, and that "we will come to know true differences in settings only as we first understand their likenesses." The generic elements basic to social casework wherever practiced—casework's "common property"—Mrs. Perlman formulated as follows:

A philosophy which sees human welfare as both the purpose and the test of social policy; a professional attitude which combines a scientific spirit with dedication to the people and purposes one serves; a knowledge of the major dynamic forces in human beings and the interaction between them and social forces; and a knowledge of methods and skills whereby the person with professional intent and understanding can help persons with social problems better utilize their own powers or opportunities in their social situations.

This is the professional equipment taken by the caseworker into an agency which uses the social casework method either as a primary or secondary way of rendering its services, she said. And though we would not say all settings are alike, any more than we would say all people are alike, we will come to know true differences among settings only as we first understand their likenesses, just as we come to know individual human differences only as we first understand the general characteristics, attributes, and adjustments of people as a whole.

Describing a current project of the casework faculty at Chicago in developing a course "in which students would learn to know and understand social agency settings as the bodies within which the life stream of casework operates," Mrs. Perlman showed how some common assumptions about agency structure, working operations, and certain casework problems thought to be the exclusive concern of given settings do not hold when examined in relation to some types of setting. Urging that further work be done in this field, Mrs. Perlman said that possibly it might "lead to a real clarification as to the essential nature of specialty in our practice." To equate the setting with the specialty "is a loose conception and a dangerous one," she said, for it is responsible for the not uncommon phenomenon "of the social worker turned handmaiden to other professions."

Posing "generic" against "specific," as though one existed versus the other, creates a divisive problem, said Mrs. Perlman. Increased specialization going hand in hand with increased coördination is an essential characteristic of growth and development, and "the search for the generic aspects among the specific settings in which casework is practiced may serve in a small way to expand and deepen our base of professional unity."

Distinctions between social casework and psychotherapy were explored by Grace F. Marcus, Professor of Social Casework at the University of Pittsburgh's School of Social Work, at the final meeting of the section on mental health. Describing the use of both supportive and insight therapy within the diagnostic approach to casework practice, Miss Marcus pointed out that there are several serious disadvantages in considering psychotherapy as an answer to the technical problems of casework in the social agency. The "taking over of the client's ego function," she said, "is in deep conflict with an ethical limit" in social work. Also, when we face the fact that public agencies "must carry the ultimate and dominant responsibility for development of the casework services really needed by our population," we question whether psychotherapy "with its essential need for broad individual discretion" can fit into an agency that must define eligibility and be accountable for clear description of the services it offers and the terms on which they are available.

There is a growing unity in "basic understanding of the psyche and of the dynamic interaction between internal and external factors in the life of the individual," said Miss Marcus. This can be seen in the trends of development in psychoanalytical therapy, in psychotherapy as performed by psychiatrists and caseworkers, in diagnostic casework on the one hand and functional casework on the other. Though the existence of differences is an embarrassment, she said, "the embarrassment is one of riches." Psychotherapy is different from casework and "therefore no answer to casework problems." These problems must have casework answers "however hard they are to find, however long it takes us to find them," for upon this depend "the improvement and extension of casework services adequate to a need as yet unmeasured and unmet."

Interesting observations on our casework practices from the point of view of visiting foreign social workers were brought to the Conference by Eunice Minton, principal training specialist (international), at the Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration. Miss Minton reported that these colleagues who had come to this country under the international fellowship program showed great appreciation of the highly developed casework prin-

ciples and concepts in this country. One wrote that these concepts had changed "not only my professional relationship but my personal relationship also." "The American social worker," explained this colleague,

is prepared to go along with the client to the point from which he can help himself and determine his own actions again. This is democratic, with both parties working together on an equal level; both parties participate equally and there is no dominating or imposing on the client, nor any invading of his privacy if it can possibly be avoided.

Another commented on the technique of interviewing, which in her own country "is left to the individual intuition," but here "is a matter of the psychological approach and the application of fairly standardized rules."

Although the majority expressed real appreciation of social casework in this country, said Miss Minton, one observed that "casework here is too strongly accentuated and the institutional group living and group structure program too much neglected." There was difference of opinion, too, concerning our case records. Some approved the extent to which records reflect facts and process, but others felt that they are too voluminous and not selective enough.

In general, these observers were most impressed with the attitudes of social workers in this country. As one put it, "in their understanding sympathy with the people they serve they discover needs and help clients to find solutions to their own problems." Another added, thoughtfully, "There seems to be a healthier attitude toward services in the staffs of poorer agencies than in those of the wealthier ones. Can it be because there is less challenge for those in better circumstances?"

Casework in special settings.—The practice of casework in a variety of settings and the giving of casework services in relation to a number of groups having specialized problems came in for detailed discussion on many a program.

An increased demand for social casework services will be made in the field of mental health, predicted Glenn M. Johnson, Chief of Social Services, Veterans Administration Regional Office, San Francisco. Speaking at a session of the casework section on the general topic of the contribution of casework to mental hygiene, Mr.

Johnson described the role of the caseworker in giving VA services. In this setting, social service has the administrative obligation for coördinating various resources of a multiservice agency, and social workers work with other specialists in bringing a multidiscipline approach to bear on the problems of individual veterans.

Mr. Johnson brought out several points which he felt represented important learnings in this situation. The "key to the treatment dose" for many mentally ill veterans is the attitude of a professional who has that confidence born of the knowledge that a large proportion of mentally ill patients are "capable of constructive adjustment to civilian life." If the emphasis is on "working with a person rather than a diagnostic label," it soon appears that a patient has considerable strength and resources beyond the area of his psychosis. Then, too, the worker is able to work with the patient directly regarding his illness, rather than "going around" him to friends and family—a measure dictated by what Mr. Johnson termed "diagnosis-panic."

The need to recognize treatment as a continuous process, and to "give status to practical day-to-day problems," was also stressed by this speaker. Warning against too glib referral to psychiatrists and the unnecessary use of institutional care, he said that a surprising amount of constructive coöperation could be gained from family, friends, and employers when one takes responsibility for conveying and interpreting information on mental illness and the behavior of the mentally ill to those people in the community who are significant in the patient's life.

The contribution Mr. Johnson described is probably the contribution of caseworkers rather than of casework, said Charl Rhode, chief social worker of the Mental Hygiene Clinic in the same VA office. Describing the job of the social worker as that of liaison between patients in far-flung towns and villages of the region and the regional office, she said that it included some things not previously thought of as social work functions, since the situation demanded that one "look at the need, and decide what one can do best that will help." Prominent among the points Miss Rhode stressed was the importance of the multifunction staff working as a "family." Sometimes caseworkers feel that they are the only ones

who "understand" the client, she said, but this feeling must give way to a desire to share information with other staff members so that they can give better service.

Miss Rhode underscored Mr. Johnson's point regarding "diagnosis panic" by recalling the case of a psychotic patient:

We treated him as if he were more like us than not and began working more and more with him instead of going around him, and we found he responded to it. This may sound like common sense, yet this attitude toward the mentally ill has not really been part of the equipment of social workers.

The place of the social worker in the team relationship was also discussed by Edith Beck, Chief of the Social Service Section, Winter Veterans Administration Hospital, Topeka. Describing the progress of coördinating treatment at this hospital, on a program sponsored by the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, Miss Beck gave the case history of a veteran whose first two admissions to the hospital failed to help him in a fundamental way, while a third admission, occurring after a "diagnostic appraisal ward" had been set up to allow for integrated diagnostic study by a team, resulted in real assistance to the patient in making a more lasting adjustment.

In the first two experiences, Miss Beck pointed out, the members of the team had been active at one part or another of the patient's treatment, but "they worked autonomously, each in his separate professional orbit, unrelated to his colleagues on the team." Here the social service staff "makes its appropriate contribution to the team in the total treatment of the patient" rather than working separately, also. Coördination of treatment is "a process of professional and interprofessional maturation, inherent in which are all the painful and difficult aspects of any process of growth," but the staff at this hospital, Miss Beck testified, "have profound conviction" of the importance of achieving it.

Casework with the aged formerly had a protective role, said Della K. Milder, Casework Supervisor at the Benjamin Rose Institute in Cleveland, addressing another session of the casework section, but "today casework with the aged helps the older person to face his infirmities in order to surmount them, at the same time

developing resources which safeguard him and enable him to be as active as possible." The dependent aged, said Mrs. Milder, must have enough leeway in their allowance to prevent withdrawal from active living. The incentive to earn even a little must be safeguarded, she said, and old people must not be too quickly pensioned off as unemployable. The caseworker's job is to help people utilize whatever degree of strength they may have in adjusting to growing old. People age according to their lifelong patterns, and the caseworker is learning to understand aging by studying the whole life span and not just the later years. It was Mrs. Milder's opinion that casework has an important contribution to make "in changing the role of the aging person to one of greater status and productivity."

Some insight into the psychological factors in the problem of aging was offered on the opening program of the section on the aged by Dr. Edward B. Allen, psychiatrist on the staff of New York Hospital's Westchester Division. The contemplation of a brief future has a profound influence on the person, said Dr. Allen, though at the same time the person has the same longings and feelings of pride about accomplishment as he had in younger days. The aged, like youth, are more subjective in point of view, for they represent the extremes of life. The young have not yet gotten involved in reality, and the aged are beginning to withdraw from reality into the unknown. The psychiatrist also observed that the drive for race preservation gives way to the drive for self-preservation during this period, a phenomenon connected with physiological changes. The result is an increase of selfish attitudes and a decrease in altruistic tendencies. These changes, he pointed out, are just as confusing to the individual as those of adolescence.

On another program of this section, the experience of the Jewish Family Service of New York City in providing homemaker service for the aged was described by Dora Goldfarb, Director of Homemaker Services for the organization. For the past five years the agency has offered this service both on a temporary basis and for indefinite periods, and the experience, said the speaker, "has given us a real conviction that homemaker service has the potentialities for meeting a family crisis created by the care of an aged person."

Motivation for beginning the service lay in the agency's "recognition of the pressing problems created by the overwhelming lack of other facilities for elderly people who are no longer able to care for themselves." The importance of the proper selection, training, and supervision of the homemaker was stressed, for it has been found that "the homemaker takes on a different role in relation to caring for old people who are dependent on her for their care." The most outstanding quality of the homemaker for this job is an "ability to understand and accept the idiosyncrasies of aged people, and to help them in a way that neither makes too heavy demands on direction or supervision from them, nor takes away their feeling of independence."

Selection of families for the service involves getting a complete picture of present and predicted health conditions. It has also been found essential to have a responsible adult other than the aged person who can share planning and responsibility with the agency. A current problem, heightened by the lack of institutional and hospital space, is the handling of alternate plans for homemaker service at the right time. Perhaps through continued efforts to develop a total home care service for old people, said the speaker, the strain on institutions may be relieved so that only those people actually requiring institutional living would need to be admitted. The homemaker service plan, she declared, "needs to be part of a complete plan for the care of old people so their total social, emotional, and physical needs can be carefully safeguarded as long as they live."

Efforts of casework to discover and meet the special needs of displaced persons were described at a meeting of the casework section by Rose E. Dratkin, Director of the Family Service Department of United Service for New Americans in New York City. The casework staff of this organization, she said, has endeavored to regard D.P.'s neither as the undesirables nor as the martyrs which various segments of public opinion in this country see in them, but to see them as human beings in relation to certain facts which at present have significance in their lives. The process of immigration, she said, has certain legal, social, and personal effects upon the human being. These people have lived through an extended period

of anxiety about getting a visa. The quota system produces real stresses in some instances, such as temporary family separations. The sense of "being on probation" until eligible for citizenship, the conflict between old patterns and new, the struggle to find a place in our economic market, the anxiety-producing attempt to adjust to our social institutions—all these represent factual hazards which must be grappled with.

The caseworker in this situation has a number of limitations under which to work, the speaker testified. Like many other social work situations, it has problems of financial limitation, but there are also those of community attitudes, difficulty of understanding, shortage of personnel, and, not the least, the very size of the problem which cannot always be controlled. It was her opinion that a preventive mental hygiene program for D.P.'s would be of great assistance:

Our society has had ample experience with the unfortunate results that our indifference to former groups of immigrants has caused. The need for help can be more easily met and with more constructive results in the beginning of the immigration experience than later on when personal and relationship problems have already fully developed.

Insight into the meaning of delinquent behavior in children was offered in several papers, as well as formulation of some of the most important questions facing those who are attempting to help the delinquent child. In a discussion of adult anxieties resulting from the Kinsey report, Fritz Redl, Professor of Social Group Work at the School of Public Affairs and Social Work at Wayne University, told an audience of the section on delinquency that though there are many commonly expressed fears about the effects of the report on children, for the most part they represent adults' own fears rather than real dangers for children. The important thing, said this educator, is to get on with more research and to try to develop some realistic standards. We need to do research, he said, in the area of limiting and directing "without messing things up." We now know a good deal about what *not* to do, but very little about what specifically *to* do. We need to develop realistic standards in terms of the life to which a youngster is exposed, and in terms of the meaning of sex behavior. "We know," he said, "that

sometimes sex is behind some other piece of behavior, but we forget that sometimes there are other things behind sex, and much so-called 'sex behavior' is not really a sex problem." Educational efforts around sex should begin when the child's interest in it begins, he added. Children who have sex education in the twelfth grade often say that it was when they were in fifth grade that they were bothered about it.

The potential of counseling and visiting teachers service in preventing delinquency was discussed by Rachel Dunaway Cox, Assistant Professor of Education and Psychology and Director of the Child Study Institute, Bryn Mawr College, at the final meeting of the section on delinquency. Interpreting delinquent behavior as an aggressive response to frustration, she said that the school could be of help to the predelinquent child, particularly, not by attempting to deal with disturbing elements in the child's life, but by opening up new areas of satisfaction for him. Children who have a trying time in school, she said, are primarily those who have difficulty in learning. A low I.Q. often carries with it a constant fear of humiliation, she added. She recommended well-taught special education classes "if they are not just disciplinary," and remedial help on an individual basis for children who are deficient in some fundamental school skill, such as reading, spelling, or number work. The visiting teacher or counselor can act as a go-between in obtaining these special services, and can guide young students into extra-curricular activities where they may get some badly needed satisfaction. Pointing out the great advantage of having continuity of counseling in schools where children have different teachers each year, she said that counseling should really begin in the elementary school years.

Speaking on the same program, Mary N. Taylor, Instructor in Social Casework at the University of Michigan's Institute of Social Work, told of a training project for the visiting teachers program authorized in Michigan in 1944. Most of the ninety-three visiting teachers now functioning in forty Michigan communities have been drawn from among experienced teachers, she said. They have received masters' degrees in education, but "come to classes in casework practice and to field work in social agencies with an

eagerness to learn and a conviction that there is something they need to learn to work with children . . . which is challenging to all of us who care about giving children the richest possible opportunities." Teachers are increasingly interested in children as individuals, and are eager that children shall "learn how to use knowledge in constructive social activity and relationships." Hope that future plans may allow for two field placements—the first in a social agency and the second under supervision in a school—was expressed by Miss Taylor; for such a plan would help students transfer skills, understand more clearly the meaning of the school setting to individuals involved, and utilize knowledge of community agencies as well as such skills as those of interviewing. Progress in training school social workers will make it possible for social work to make a "vital contribution to the great American system of education upon which we count so heavily for the future of our democracy," concluded Miss Taylor.

A report on the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study was given at a meeting of the section on research in social work by Helen Witmer, Supervisor of Research at the Smith College School for Social Work. The study was an attempt to test the hypothesis that

Many potentially delinquent or already delinquent young boys would develop into youths of steady and upright character if they were provided with the continued friendship and wise counsel of adults who were deeply interested in them and who could secure for them access to such community services as they required.

The study was set up by Dr. Richard Cabot in much the same way that a piece of medical research would be: the giving of a specified form of treatment to a series of individuals suffering from a specified disorder and the appraising of results by reference to a similar series that had not been treated. One half of a group of selected boys of from nine to eleven years of age became clients of the agency set up to conduct the study service, and the other half served as a control group.

The emphasis of this paper was on the methods used and the difficulties encountered in estimating the achievements of the study. After some analysis it was concluded that the service was likely to be beneficial when emotional maladjustment in the boy

and the home was not extreme; when the boy and, usually, his parents were desirous of help with the problem behavior; and when the counselor's services were consistently and skillfully related to the source of the difficulty. Findings appeared to indicate, said this speaker, that "there was a causal connection between the services given and the apparent benefit to the boy." "Not only did some of the boys change," she concluded, "not only did 'movement' take place, but the cases in which that change seemed to follow from the counselors' work were different from those in which it did not, not only in the nature of the difficulties but also in the kind of help given."

The range of casework services for children encompasses three major groupings, said Patricia Sacks, Associate District Secretary, Community Service Society, New York City, addressing a meeting of the section on casework. These groupings, which may overlap in actual practice, include intervention in, or improvement of, the environment of the child; efforts to modify the attitudes of parents toward their children, sometimes referred to as indirect treatment of children; and psychotherapy.

Enumerating current concepts about psychosocial development of children "which should be commonly accepted principles underlying any method of treatment or particular setting of practice," Miss Sacks mentioned that "no single causality is considered the origin of the child's problem," that the importance of "constellations of circumstances and factors" is recognized, as well as the significance that extrafamilial relationships may hold for the child. Understanding of the psychosexual development of early childhood and greater knowledge of principles of early childhood training plus better established criteria for assessing normal development of children are also part of this equipment. It has also been amply demonstrated, she noted, that "children seek actively for an understanding of their environment even at an early age." Finally, the basis for service to the child is diagnosis which encompasses physical, emotional, intellectual, and social factors.

By way of two illustrative instances, this speaker showed what the caseworker can do to help a child in a situation which is potentially damaging to his development. "There is certainly no way by which

we can obviate certain painful physical experiences, but one can by understanding and patience break up the psychologically stunting fantasies which occur to children out of their helplessness and fears of attack from the environment," she said.

Intake practices constitute the core of the agency's service in helping children and their parents, said Eleanor Sheldon, Director of the Family and Children's Center of Stamford, Connecticut. Speaking at a meeting of the section on child care she described the intake process as the one "whereby a child comes into the care of the agency," and said that a major dilemma in giving care to children is "the certain knowledge that the deepest needs of the child lie in his relationship to his parents." Thus workers in the child care field are "aware of the enormous potential for damage" which an irresponsible or neglectful parent may have for his child. This fact concerning the nature of the parent-child relationship must be accepted by the worker, along with the fact that "nothing we can do, no care we can provide . . . has the importance or the value to the child of what his own parents can or cannot do or provide for him." Thus, "intake becomes the core of our service when it enables a parent to choose a kind of care for his child—a kind of care which he will then provide with our help," said the speaker.

In her remarks on Miss Sheldon's paper, Natalie Dunbar, Assistant Casework Director of the Pittsburgh Family and Children's Service, commented that "in our continuing work with parents we are building up a body of experience that is quite special." She questioned that the knowledge of parents gained in the child care field was being fully used. Learning how to deal "significantly" with the problems inherent in the parent-child relationship will truly be of help to children, she said.

The values of early adoptive placement were brought out in a session sponsored by the child care section. Helen Rome Marsh, Chief Psychologist, Cleveland Guidance Center, said that the role of the psychologist in planning such placements "rests in part on the knowledge of testing techniques and their application, within limits, to babies." Another value, however, is that the psychologist brings an objective point of view which is "geared to evaluate the child's development in several spheres at once, including the emo-

tional area." Since the trends toward early placement are fairly recent, not much research has been done on the help the psychologist can give, she reported, so at present he can offer his specially acquired skills and participate in building up a backlog of information and observation which will increase his contribution in the future.

Though early placement has been shied away from chiefly because of the fear that mental and physical inadequacies might show up later in the child, said Mary E. Fairweather, supervisor of the adoption service at the Children's Services Adoption Bureau of Cleveland, statistics of adoption courts as well as agency records show that failures have been predominantly due to inadequate parents or inadequate help in the adjustment process. "Where careful social diagnosis indicates adoption for an infant," said Miss Fairweather, "I suggest that the welfare and protection of all concerned are inextricably interwoven and their best interests are served by the earliest possible placement." Instead of wasting energy on "fears of the unknown," she thought it was better to "spend our energies more in developing greater skills in our ability to know our adoptive applicants."

Testimony as to experience in early adoptive placement was offered by Weltha M. Kelley, Director of Casework at the Catholic Home Bureau of New York City. The proportion of early placements in this agency has been increasing, she said, due generally to the "increasing assurance that certain types of infants need placement before the age of three months." Nineteen percent of the children placed by the agency between January, 1945, and May, 1949, were infants under three months. The program will continue to be selective and to be carried under close scrutiny for some years, she said, for though the plan is good for some infants, every baby may not be considered, and every young couple who apply "would not meet the needs of the young infant nor could they carry the emotional risks involved."

The general principles by which workers in the adoption field steer their course were upheld in the report of a follow-up study of adoptive families written by Ruth Michaels and Ruth F. Brenner, both of the Child Adoption Research Committee, under whose

auspices the study was conducted, and presented at a session of the Child Welfare League of America. Fifty children whose I.Q.'s at time of placement fell within the average range were retested, and a parallel casework study of the families was done. Twenty-six of these adoptive situations were finally rated "successful"; eighteen, "fairly successful"; and six, "unsuccessful." The latter homes were thusly rated because, though standard physical care was being given, "the child is either rejected or excessively overprotected and infantilized to such a degree that caseworkers would not knowingly place in them children for whose lifetime planning they are responsible." Although many aspects of the study make it necessary to consider the findings tentative, this paper made it clear that analysis highlights the importance of a home study which will be "clearly directed to evaluate, as far as possible, the couple's strengths and weaknesses for familial living and to establish the evidence of their capacity to be good adoptive parents which alone justifies an agency in placing a child for adoption."

Some insight into the problems involved in casework with children and their parents in a protective setting was offered at another session of the section on child care by Barbara Smith, Case Supervisor of the Department of Public Welfare's Protective Services in Baltimore. From her experience, she said, she was "convinced that the majority of neglected children can and should remain with their parents," if the parents are able to take help and want the situation to be different. A study of closed cases during the past two years in her agency, she reported, showed that 65 percent of 137 cases "concluded with the children remaining with their own parent or relative, and neglect was no longer present."

For the agency that wants to give this service to neglected children, said this speaker, there are realistic risks involved, possible criticism from a variety of sources, and lack of support for such a venture. In her agency an application for the service, with a form to be signed, "gives the worker and the parent something concrete to hold on to." Though a great deal is required of the parent, it was her experience that "even the most battered and discouraged parent has a tremendous amount of strength and will carry through on

every requirement if he wants to keep his child." An important problem for the worker lies in coming to terms with the authority she represents, said the speaker. "She has to be able," she said, "to stand up to all the tests the parents put her through, knowing that it can be their way of moving toward her." Though it is hard for both parent and worker, she concluded, "when you see the neglected child change in front of your eyes to a loved child, it is worth every bit of the hardness and worthy of all the skill we as social workers can develop."

The unique values of institutional care for children were discussed in one group meeting of the child care section, with Fred A. Schumacher, Executive Director of St. Christopher's School, Dobbs Ferry, New York, presenting the major paper. Though the institution is not now regarded as the only answer to the problems of children who need placement, he said, it has proved its usefulness and taken its place in the social work field, gaining more status than it previously enjoyed. The real answer to the institution's effectiveness is in the nature of its ability to select with care the children for whom it is equipped to do the job, rather than the outmoded notion of mass care "where the institution became a parking lot, a dumping ground, or a place of last resort." Today the unique values of institutional care must be judged in relation to organized groupings and the mental as well as the physical needs of the child. "These values may be found in the group living and treatment facilities which may be offered . . . in well-organized institutions and the control and flexibility which characterize such programs if properly managed," he said.

Mr. Schumacher developed his paper in terms of the many skills required and what they can accomplish in behalf of children as individuals and within the group. The values in group living must be considered in relation to the liabilities, for tensions, pressures, and conflicts are inherent in the situation. One of the most important aspects of this problem lies in staff relations and staff development, he said. Finally, a child-caring institution must have a basic objective which the entire staff accepts—an objective which "includes the development of happy, healthy, and emotionally free children

who will be able as adults to take on and execute their responsibilities to society with personal security and integrity, and with a realization of their own inherent strengths."

Mr. Schumacher's paper was discussed by Winifred Walsh, Executive Secretary of the Mary Bartelme Club, Chicago, and Claude-line Lewis, Assistant Professor of Child Welfare, Western Reserve University. Miss Walsh stressed the need for better training for houseparents, since so much of the responsibility for successful institutional care falls to them, and the necessity to learn more about how "to create constructive group living." Miss Lewis advocated education of social workers to the end that they will know well both foster care and institutional care, both the individual and the group process. Programs of foster care must be unified, she said, "so that children may be shifted from one form of care to the other according to need."

The casework process at work in the fields of financial counseling and financial assistance was seen in several other papers. One, presented at a meeting of the Family Service Association of America by Frances Preston, Director of the Home Economics Department of the Cleveland Family Service Association, discussed the process of "integrating needs and wishes in financial counseling."

"Helping families to spend and save," said Miss Preston, "requires an accepting, nonjudgmental attitude toward the families' idiosyncrasies and wishes. The caseworker must have a real understanding of this particular family with its emotional needs and drives." On the other hand, she must have a standard budgetary guide against which the families' needs and wishes can be measured, as well as "an understanding of the scale of living which this guide will provide."

At a session of the section of casework, three papers were presented dealing with the effects of agency setting and purpose on the process of giving financial assistance. Vocille Pratt, Chief of the Assistance Unit, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, discussed the "developing and imperfect process" of setting down officially the principles that govern the determination of need and the amount persons are entitled to under law. She said it was important to remind ourselves that the Social Security Act es-

tablished, not a way to grant financial assistance to needy individuals, but "a way for the national government to help an individual state serve certain groups of individuals." The purpose of Congress in passing this act, she said, was to advance the general welfare and "to help states accomplish a specific purpose, if they wished to be helped, when they believed they could not do the job alone." Likening the process by which a state seeks Federal grants-in-aid to that of the individual seeking assistance from the agency, she said that the Bureau of Public Assistance was convinced that if assistance is to advance the general welfare there must be adequacy of assistance in the states seeking grants and equity in the treatment of all individuals. The terms of the relationship used in the process of administration of grants-in-aid for public assistance, she said, "offer a new experience with principles long accepted in casework." Describing the work of the Bureau, particularly in the past five years, in testing basic principles in its relationships with states, she said that states "that wish to develop a program characterized by equitable administration throughout the state and who ask our help" will find "our agency's skill more sure, more directed, than in the past."

Speaking on the same program, Elizabeth Davis, Field Director of the American Red Cross United States Naval Medical Center at Bethesda, Maryland, described the money-giving service from the point of view of a worker responsible for administering multiple social services in a military hospital. The use of a service, she said, "is affected by what the individual or group conceives or finds in the service to be right for him or it." Thus she described the responses of an average citizen volunteer and "average citizens enlisted and on active duty." The money-giving service "in this democratic culture where money often appears to be a total kind of measurement of success or failure" is not simple, she said. She felt it an advantage to give this service through an organization "which gives financial assistance as one of several services and which is a voluntary national agency known and contributed to by most Americans." She stressed the need, in the giving of the service, for the worker's deep belief in the value of the service, in the worth of the individual to whom she is making the service available, and in the fact that we are all mutually interdependent.

The same subject was discussed from the point of view of one private family agency by Theodore R. Isenstadt, Executive Director of the Jewish Family Service Association, Newark, New Jersey. This agency limits its financial assistance service almost entirely to new Americans, and Mr. Isenstadt discussed the way in which this service had been developed in relation to the fundamental purposes of the agency. Standards were initially set up on the basis of knowledge of the needs of a family which was "already settled in, and oriented to, our milieu." However, experience showed that standards must be re-evaluated and changed often, "even as life itself changes." The casework staff not only carries out the financial assistance program, but helps to shape its policies, on the theory that their closeness to clients should help keep the agency realistically related to the needs of its clients. Administration, he felt, must carry a significant role in helping the casework staff to "sift out that which is problem in structure and that which represents problem in learning how to give financial assistance skillfully."

Work with individuals in the area of marital relationships was reported on and discussed in a session sponsored by the casework section. Marital discord is not an isolated phenomenon, declared Regina Flesch, caseworker for the Family Service Bureau of the United Charities of Chicago, but an outgrowth of our present society and culture. Further, she said, certain aspects of marriage make conflict between partners "unavoidable." In understanding the psychology of marriage, she said, we must forget what we have called "normal quarreling" and fix attention on why quarreling happens and what it does to the personalities of the two people involved. This speaker discussed the caseworker's difficulties with diagnosis in the marital discord situation in terms of the personality as seen against the setting of our present society, for "we have thought too much in terms of diagnosis of marital problems as simply diagnosing the immediate personal relations between the partners."

Speaking on the same program, Jean Brodsky, Case Consultant of the Planned Parenthood Committee of Kings County, Brooklyn, New York, discussing premarital counseling as one factor in the prevention of marital conflict. Though this type of counseling is not

a "cure-all," it can aid some couples in forming a sounder basis for marital relationship she said, for if discussion is focused on the hopes, fears, and anxieties the couple may have, feelings about differences may be worked through in advance. Another advantage Mrs. Brodsky saw in such counseling is that some couples may be more able to accept help if serious difficulties should arise.

Case recording is "the dynamic, lifelike interaction between worker and client in a helping process within a social agency," said Claire Wechsler, social worker at the Pleasantville Cottage School of the Jewish Child Care Association of New York. Speaking at a meeting of the Child Welfare League of America, this social worker analyzed case recording as a reflection of casework practice. In addition to teaching and supervisory purposes, the case record is still useful for the traditional reasons: transfer of worker, transfer of record, and in the meeting of inquiries from community agencies. However, she reported, there is dissatisfaction among staff people with the present method and philosophy of recording. It seems to stem, she said, from the "lack of clarity around the real purpose and use which recordings serve and the insufficient recognition which this part of the job has been given both in the schools of social work and the field as a whole." She urged more experimentation and research in the field of recording in the hope that "some of the searched-for answers may emerge."

At three successive meetings of the Committee on Social Service Exchange of Community Chests and Councils of America, papers were presented on how methods in the use of the social service exchange affect diagnosis and treatment in the casework process, the self-appraisal of social service exchanges, and the uses of the exchange in the smaller community. An outline for self-appraisal was presented at the second of these meetings by Ralph Carr Fletcher, Chairman of the Inter-Agency Committee, Registration Bureau for the Detroit Social Service Exchange, and Associate Professor of Social Work at the University of Michigan's Institute of Social Work. Developed by the National Social Service Exchange Committee and tested by the Detroit Exchange, the outline is based on the assumption that an exchange is operated under private auspices, although, as Mr. Fletcher pointed out, some experience shows

that it can be operated successfully under public auspices. It is also assumed that membership should be open to any nonprofit organization which is accepted and recognized in the community as a health and welfare agency, including the health and welfare services of labor unions, if these are operated with professional competence. The findings of a special study growing out of use of the outline showed that many exchanges do not have written statements of policy, and that there is in some communities a lack of knowledge of the exchange by professional workers as well as by the community itself, he reported:

There would seem to be a correlation between the quality of social service exchange operation and the quality of casework performed in the community. While the correlations are far from perfect and there may be and probably are quite a few exceptions, it is safe to assume that improvements in the work of social service exchanges would lead to better understanding and acceptance of exchanges and better casework service to the clients.

Social group work services.—Both actual and potential contributions of social group work and its methods in working toward the achievement of the social goals outlined by major speakers was brought out clearly in the opening session of the social group work section. Here Grace Coyle, Professor of Social Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, reminded social group workers that their field involved group association for the adjustment of the individual and as a means of furthering socially desired goals. "Goals to be effective must be translated from abstract democratic values to strategy and tactics on concrete issues," she said, in a discussion of some of the various methods which social group workers use in specific situations. Miss Coyle told her audience that in this day and age a social group worker "must be functioning in relation to some social objectives; however implicit or obscure they may be."

Speaking on the same program with Miss Coyle was Gertrude Wilson, Professor of Social Group Work, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, who also discussed the relation between group experience and the achievement of goals. Success in such achievement, she said, depends in part on the conviction of those

who work toward them, and "no human being develops faith in isolation from others." Thus when individuals do not have group experience they are unable to contribute their share in "building the road to a coöperative society." The task of finding the road to survival through preservation of independence for the individual and security for the masses is an interprofessional undertaking, Miss Wilson declared. She made it clear that she did not feel social workers carried the sole responsibility, but that "specialized knowledge of human needs and professional skill in helping people meet them place an additional obligation upon social workers."

In another session, Saul Bernstein, Professor of Social Work, Boston University School of Social Work, presented a chart for the use of group leaders and their supervisors in evaluating the attainment of social goals in small groups. Though this device was presented as an experimental one, Mr. Bernstein felt that it was a step toward developing needed scientific ways of testing achievements in social group work to the end that people could be better served.

Midway in Conference week the social group work section sponsored a series of five discussions conducted somewhat in the manner of a workshop. These dealt with the practice of social group work in a number of specialized situations—work with the aged, administrative work with board and staff members, interracial camping, a teen-age project, and the use of social action as program content in a club group. Discussion was centered around actual records of each of these situations. In the last-named group, the discussion leader, Frankie Adams, Director of the Department of Community Organization, Atlanta University School of Social Work, spoke particularly about the trends in the use of the group method, saying that it was now being used and experimented with in casework agencies, psychiatric settings, work with the aged and with handicapped children. "Social group work needs only further strengthening in its knowledge of causes and effects in group life," she said, "and a greater number of professional technicians to make its values available to a society sorely in need of improvement in social relationships."

The function of social group work agencies in a democracy was discussed at the final meeting of the section by Nathan E. Cohen,

Professor of Social Work at the New York School of Social Work. Although the social group work agency has always thought of itself as a laboratory for democratic living with emphasis on the preparation of tomorrow's citizens, the realities of today's world make it necessary to take a double-barreled approach, said Mr. Cohen. For now we must include a focus "on working with the citizen of today if tomorrow is to become a certainty."

It was Mr. Cohen's contention that "if social group work is more than a set of techniques and if it derives its methods from democratic goals, then the settings in which the social group work method is employed must fulfill the principles of democracy." Failure to try to check the impact of political, economic, and social climate on the agency can "eventually mean the undermining of the use of social group work method in achieving our long-range goals"; in fact, the undermining of the social group work theory itself, he said.

Pointing to a growing trend toward a greater degree of sectarianism in private social group work agencies, a curious contradiction to a universal emphasis on an open-door policy of community participation, Mr. Cohen suggested that perhaps a rethinking of the philosophy of cultural pluralism is needed to reconcile the conflict. Another trend he described as the tendency to destroy the "social-action consciousness" built up in an agency, when social group work philosophy would call for an intensifying of a social action program at a time when our democratic goals are threatened.

When the young adult finds that agency policy is being determined by absentee board members or by staff, with little opportunity for the constituency to be heard outside token representation, added the speaker, the effect is "an undermining of his faith in people and in a fundamental democratic concept of helping people to help themselves." Social group workers must face challenges represented in these and other trends, concluded Mr. Cohen, for "if we shun these responsibilities we may be helping to create a climate which will deeply affect not only the organization of our educational approach, but its whole spirit and technique . . . to say nothing of the larger stakes, the future of the human race."

III. SERVICES TO AGENCIES AND COMMUNITIES

THERE WAS AMPLE EVIDENCE that social work not only recognized the need for better planning and organizing of community services, but is now engaged in many projects and in testing out many devices by which this service to agencies and to community could be improved.

In social work, and particularly in community organization, there is an inseparable relationship between process, outcome, and structure, said Charles Miller, Assistant Director, Jewish Community Council of Essex County, Newark, New Jersey, in addressing a meeting of the Association for the Study of Community Organization. The nature of community and social planning and the dynamic relationship of process to objective and structure have special implications for the professional. Necessarily, he shares responsibility for outcome and structural chances, and a primary concern with process does not relieve him of that responsibility. Community organizers must classify further the nature of the process they use, said Mr. Miller, and must create a sound body of knowledge which can be communicated.

Progress in analysis of "the nature of the community organization process" was evaluated by Donald Van Valen, Executive Director, Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies, in a meeting of the community organization section. Mr. Van Valen stated that the community organization worker must begin to learn more ways of carrying out the basic principles of social work in the process of his job. Specifically, he compared the manipulation of groups as a method in contrast with group process, concluding that there was no alternative to the latter which could ethically be established as a method for the community organization worker. He gave case illustrations showing application of the scientific group process method in committee work of a community welfare council.

In her remarks as discussant, Grace Coyle said that this paper represented a further step in understanding which she compared with developments in both casework and social group work. Casework has moved from seeing the client as a problem to seeing him

as a whole person. Social group work has moved from seeing people as participants in sports or public affairs discussions to seeing them as part of a group. Now, she said, community organization is beginning to see its process apart from its content. She emphasized that the group observer used to record group process must be a skillful person and that the "feed back" (telling the group what its process is) must be done skillfully because "it is important to know what you are doing to people in bringing out their unconscious acts." Sometimes the best way to get participation is to make people comfortable, she said, and it may be that bringing the process to their consciousness will hinder it.

Admittedly, the basic problem as well as the basic strength of planning lies in the quality of relationships, and at another session of the community organization section, three papers on interrelationships of national, state, and local planning were presented. The three points of view were given by Elmer J. Tropman, Executive Secretary, Buffalo Council of Social Agencies; A. David Bouterse, Executive Director, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania; and Robert E. Bondy, Director, National Social Welfare Assembly.

Mr. Tropman emphasized that in spite of the widening circle of forces that affect the local social welfare program and the growing interdependence of the local community with state, national, and even international communities, "it is still in the local community that all the planning forces come into focus and the results of all our planning become a reality." The present need, Mr. Tropman said, is to evaluate what factors complicate our interrelations and what principles and factors would further them. He felt that the following complicating factors had impeded relationships: a lack of adequate structure through which to plan; the fact that "real planning has been at a minimum," with most so-called "planning" falling into the category of coördination or teamwork; the tendency of local communities not to recognize their responsibilities for working with state and national groups; and the tendency of many national agencies to develop attitudes of isolation and independence in their local units. However, more important than any other

single factor, he said, are the philosophy and attitude of agency leaders toward local community planning.

Mr. Tropman felt that improvement would come with the development of adequate planning structure, closer adherence to community organization principles, and observance of certain methods and practices, such as consultation and clearance, and the use of group study, discussion, and evaluation, as well as coördination in action. The factors which have complicated these relations would lend themselves to ready correction, according to Mr. Tropman, and what is most needed is "the attitude and the will to follow the patterns that are now fairly clear."

State planning for social welfare in a modern sense, said Mr. Bouterse, is so new that most people feel "a need to classify its function and method of operation, especially in relation to local and national planning." The lack of clear-cut principles of operation and organization at the state level, he said, constitutes one of the chief obstacles to the development of ideal relationships among the three levels. The job of classifying the role of state planning is the joint responsibility of all three groups, he said. He listed several factors which he felt to be deterrents to the development of effective local-state-national relationships in social planning: the "lack of agreement . . . on the proper use of individual citizens in the process of social planning"; the lack of agreement that "each planning level must be structurally independent of the other"; and the lack of "clear understanding that each has a separate job to do and should confine itself to its own level of competence." These, he said, referred especially to local-state relationships, but all relationships were basically dependent on complete willingness of each level to coöperate with and assist the other, as well as the maintenance of clear channels of communications between levels:

National planning for social welfare is inevitable because of the interrelatedness and interdependence of life today. It is dynamic because time changes things. It must be inclusive in its participation—lay and professional, government and voluntary, national, state and local. Its scope must be inclusive of all human well-being. With these functions and these characteristics, national social welfare planning's goal is the well-being of people.

Mr. Bondy outlined four problems which he said merited attention in a consideration of these interrelationships. First was the necessity to recognize constantly that national developments and forces have a great effect on health and welfare programs. The second was the bringing of local social welfare problems and experience into state and national planning. The third was that of determining whether "planning and action will proceed through compulsion or through mutual participation and consent." The fourth problem was that of communication.

In the light of these problems he enumerated the following principles: planning is indivisible, integrated, and total; national forces and developments should be accepted as calling for local and state attention and action; local and state problems and experience should be known and integrated into national planning; and local, state, and national planning have common stakes in human well-being "even though each sees the cause and cure of problems and needs in different aspects." Procedures of coöperation will arise, said Mr. Bondy, from "acceptance of the ways of toleration and equality within the three ways of planning—local, state, and national."

As a result, one could expect the following arrangements and procedures to develop: first, that local, state, and national bodies "will be regarded as listening posts, mutually interdependent and interrelated"; secondly, that interlocation clearance of knowledge of problems and needs, and of experience in dealing with those needs, would follow; thirdly, "that mutual participation in developing plans of actions would be the counterpart of this totaling of need and problems"; fourthly, that the planning agency "may well become the spokesman for social welfare on the sector each occupies"; and finally, that "a common strategy and tactic for attack and defense" will develop. "To move forward," said Mr. Bondy, "each part must recognize equal partnership with the other parts and an essentiality in common participation, support and action—a common strategy for human well-being."

Long-range planning by communities for the advancement of human welfare has lagged behind the need imposed by changes over the last two decades, said O. W. Kuolt, General Secretary, Rochester

(New York) Council of Social Agencies, in a paper delivered at a meeting of the community organization section. He went on to say that planning has not been comprehensive in scope and has too frequently been "opportunistic, segmented, and emergent." Too little consideration has been given, he said, to the adjustment of budgets "in harmony with declining or increasing needs" and a similar reluctance to "discontinue or diminish services of dwindling importance."

Mr. Kuolt described a project of the central planning section of the Rochester Council which was an attempt "to place planning emphasis on people rather than on money." Study had shown that social and economic trends were making a serious impact upon individuals and their families in the community. Keeping this in mind, the Council has attempted to formulate a common goal in accordance with which agencies can provide their services in partnership with other organizations in the community.

While the project is not complete, he reported the response of agencies to be in the following terms: "a renewed focus of agency thinking on the collective family, with the strengthened realization that the individual must be served as a part of a larger whole"; a recognition that "good social work is teamwork" and that many organizations have approached problems of human needs with too little realization that their various specialized services should be offered in partnership; and "a realization that agencies are secondary to human relationships" and "must subjugate their individual interest in problems as such for interest in the ultimate consumer."

As for financial planning, Mr. Kuolt stated:

It is essential to improve service and make best use of the community's financial resources by courageous action. Communities cannot continue to build financial superstructure upon superstructure without endangering the stability of the social-work ship. . . . As a first step, progress must be made by refinement, rather than expansion. Only after an acceptable common denominator has been found can a community calculate numerators for intensity and scope of service.

Several examples of how important health and welfare projects have been worked out through the Cleveland Welfare Federation were described at another community organization meeting by Ed-

ward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary of the Federation. The Federation, which has 150 member organizations, both tax sponsored and voluntary, and well over 2,000 individual members, Mr. Lynde described as a fact-finding and planning group. Among the projects which he mentioned were a hospital for the chronically ill, a neighborhood settlement association, a receiving home for neglected and dependent children, and a five-year estimate of needs for all health and welfare and recreation services in Greater Cleveland. "This long-range joint planning by public and private health and welfare organizations would have been impossible had they not been working closely together through the years," Mr. Lynde said.

The housing problem will not be solved without intelligent city and regional planning, declared Bleecker Marquette, Executive Secretary, Cincinnati Better Housing League, at a special meeting sponsored by the community organization section. Sound civic planning designates areas that are suitable for dwellings, gears the neighborhood street system with the community's major highways, indicates the transportation needed to get people to work, encourages neighborhood development, indicates where schools, churches, parks, and shopping centers ought to be, as well as keeps an eye out for residential sections that need "face lifting" and decayed areas that need to be wiped out and rebuilt. Zoning protects new neighborhoods by preventing congestion of buildings and keeping commercial and residential uses in their proper places. Planning also involves establishment of a modern building code and a housing code which insures safe, sanitary, and healthful conditions. Pointing to the advantages which the National Housing Act would bring to communities wishing to do such planning, Mr. Marquette said that the passage of the bill would be "a milestone in the history of social advance in America."

Community institutions.—Planning for community medical care will be greatly influenced by experiments such as the home-care program of New York's Montefiore Hospital, according to Minna Field, social service executive of the hospital. Speaking at a meeting of the American Cancer Society, she explained that the program was made possible through a grant by the New York City Cancer Committee and later extended by additional grants from

the Greater New York Fund and the New York Heart Association. During 1947 and 1948, a total of 318 cancer and rheumatic fever patients was cared for at home, and 30,988 days' care were given, at a cost of about one fifth the cost of hospital care. The bed capacity of the hospital was enlarged without additional construction cost, vitally needed beds were made available to other patients, and the need for hospitalization was in some instances eliminated entirely.

Eligibility for home care is determined on a medical basis by the doctor and on a social basis by the social worker. Medical care is provided as needed with complete coverage twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week. Nursing care is provided through a contractual arrangement with the Visiting Nurse Service. Physiotherapists and occupational therapists go into the home as needed. An average of about ten hours a day of household aid is provided when necessary, to allow the family to devote more time to the patient.

In some cases, actual physical improvement has been the result of the experience of getting back to normal family living. In other cases, the very nature of the illness has increased the burden of care so that the social worker, already a key figure in the success of the program, must assist in carrying more of the burden. In still other cases the situation is such that the family cannot manage, and help has been given in making other arrangements.

The team relationship between doctor and social worker has been greatly strengthened by the program, according to this speaker, and one of the by-products has been that "the social factors in the life of the patient have become a living reality for the doctor." The home-care program moves the hospital into the community, she said, and involves the use of many community agencies. It was her feeling that the program can be extended to other settings and different diagnostic groups, for it has demonstrated that the gains in human values and improvement and satisfaction for the patient are "as real as the gains in available beds and reduced costs."

Extramural care, the home-placing of patients on convalescent leave from state mental hospitals, has proven to be a constructive planning device in relieving overcrowded conditions, reported William Wilsnack, Regional Supervisor, Bureau of Social Work, Cali-

fornia State Department of Mental Hygiene. Speaking at a meeting of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, Mr. Wilsnack said that this movement, destined to bring hospitals closer to the communities they serve, stemmed in California from a program begun in 1930, which revitalized the old parole system. It is now a function of the Bureau of Social Work, an independent administration, supervising its own staff in metropolitan offices and serving through casework nearly seven thousand extramural-care patients.

The availability of Bureau staff, said Mr. Wilsnack, has encouraged many community requests for both preventive and consultative services offered by fifty-two psychiatric social workers, and because of this expressed community need, the Bureau shows promise of expanding into a state-wide Community Services division.

New perspectives in mental health planning were discussed in a paper given at the first meeting of the mental health section, prepared by Nina Ridenour, Director of the Division of Education of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and Herschel Alt, Executive Director of the Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City. The findings of the International Congress of Mental Health place great emphasis on the important part that social institutions play in molding individual personality, the paper reported, and this factor should greatly influence our methods in planning mental health programs as well as providing "a broad mandate for programs of preventive psychiatry." Activities for the strengthening of family life and the primary child-serving institutions, such as nursery and day school, may thus become planning priorities.

At any rate, programs of existing social institutions must be re-evaluated to be sure that they use the knowledge of human behavior we now possess. An examination of the public school, said these mental hygienists, would probably disclose that procedures and practices in a large measure contradict their stated purposes. For example, the traditions of educational function have prevented the school from fulfilling its role as a guidance agency. Leadership within the schools, as well as that of other social institutions and mental health enterprises, should be continuously evaluating the

consistency of their objectives and procedures with their broad goals and purposes.

Interprofessional coöperation is needed for bringing about desired changes in community institutions, and more research into the broader problems of living must make available more basic knowledge so that "we can begin to plan with confidence." Specifically, if the effects of family disharmony and divorce upon the lives of children are to be understood, a "deeper understanding of the social and psychological forces which enter into family living" must be achieved. The need to reach larger numbers of people, so that mental health planning can be adequately understood and financed, points to community education as another priority.

The paper concluded:

The responsible professional worker must try to understand fully the meaning of what he does and its broader implications. He must search in the symptoms of his patient for the social and psychological factors back of them just as the epidemiologist does in the field of physical health and then do what he can to eliminate sources of contagion and promote more healthful living. He can do this by taking a greater interest in research and education, by working with a greater number of professions and community groups, and by reaching large numbers of people and thereby add to the usefulness of his job.

The midcentury mark for one of our important community institutions, the juvenile court, was observed this year at a luncheon meeting of the National Probation and Parole Association. Roscoe Pound, President of the Association, traced the emerging concepts of treatment of juvenile delinquency through two decades of research, showing that the first step was to move from "seeing the individual child" to seeing that he was "a product of conditions which had operated to bring about delinquency long before he came before the court." Now, he said, the juvenile court must be put in a setting of institutions doing more than salvage of individual children, but a present difficulty is that too few of our courts have the facilities and equipment to do the job. The trend of the last few years, he said, is "to organize comprehensive prevention, not for the locality merely, but for the state, and to bring all agencies and programs of prevention into effective relation."

The Youth Authority program, as the state's "general headquarters to aid communities in reducing and preventing delinquency and crime," was discussed at a meeting of the delinquency section by John R. Ellington, special adviser, Criminal Justice of Youth, American Law Institute. The decision to extend the program in California, Minnesota, and Massachusetts to include all committed juveniles was made because of the "stubborn and irreducible fact of the failure of existing correctional systems to correct," declared Mr. Ellington. Once the replacement of the punitive correctional system by individual rehabilitating treatment has proven itself with children, where the need is greatest and the results can be the most valuable, they can be extended to older groups, as has already happened in California.

The key to success of a Youth Authority program, said Mr. Ellington, is "personnel with a true affection for human beings, who recognize the sanctity of human personality whether in a feeble-minded child or in a derelict adult." In fact, the American Law Institute is so aware of the need for qualified personnel that it hesitates to encourage the enactment of Youth Authority programs in additional states until a method of finding and training people who can do this extremely difficult job is developed.

Two community approaches to juvenile delinquency were reported on at another meeting of the delinquency section by Mrs. Herbert Field Fisher, Chairman, Connecticut Juvenile Welfare Committee, and James Russell Dumpson, Consultant on Correction and Delinquency, Welfare Council of New York City.

A state-wide study of the needs of neglected and delinquent children in 1946 by the Connecticut Public Welfare Council, Mrs. Fisher said, "gave clear evidence that the underlying problem is not child neglect or juvenile delinquency but family disorganization." As a result of the findings, steps have been taken to develop a "central pool of facts about the spread and depth of problems of family disorganization," to cover the state with a systematic network of casework and mental hygiene agencies equipped to give generalized family diagnosis and treatment, to identify chronically disorganized families and refer them for service, and to inaugurate a

system of earlier discovery of troubled families and direct them to agencies which can help them solve basic problems.

Mr. Dumpson described the Central Harlem Street Clubs Project, a community effort to bring the total resources of the community to a group of antisocial clubs. Operated by the New York City Welfare Council, the project was established because gang warfare threatened various neighborhoods of the city. A survey showed that not more than 10 percent of the total adolescent age group in the area were participating in adult-sponsored, leisure-time activities. Existing agencies either did not provide "the dynamic relationship required to affect the behavior patterns of the boys involved," or were unable to afford the trained staff to do the job. Workers on this project have concluded that leisure-time and recreation activities alone cannot prevent delinquent behavior and that the use of authority must be made with individual and skilled selectivity, since "punitive and repressive methods will not control the street club situation."

The respective functions of private and public agencies in community planning for child care were presented at a meeting of the section on child care by Walter P. Townsend, General Secretary of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, and Roman L. Haremski, Director of the Children's Division of the Chicago Department of Welfare. Mr. Townsend, emphasizing the flexible nature of the private agency's methods and function, said the current necessity of subsidizing public agency work is frustrating from the standpoint of the private agency task of "starting, experimenting, and changing." He urged the private agency to participate in community organization and planning so that the respective functions may be clarified. "The great danger," he said, "is that if private agencies are not able to free their private resources they may become simply an extension of public agencies and thus be unable to make their unique contribution" to a common community problem.

Mr. Haremski said that the most pressing problem related to "developing logical functions in an illogical child welfare framework." He discussed the pros and cons of public per capita payment to private agencies as an example of "the many wrinkles that have to be

"ironed out" as a result of increasing public programs and public support of children.

Two programs sponsored by the Child Welfare League of America brought to the Conference discussions of planning relating to day care and foster home resources.

Day care centers "serve families who are in the vanguard of social and economic change which is altering the pattern of family life," said Doris Campbell, assistant professor, Division of Social Service, Indiana University. The most significant progress in program development, she said, comes from emphasis on service to the family as a unit, and this requires, in planning, the participation of staff members of various professional orientations. Only public financial support will make an adequate program possible, and the important steps now to be taken involve good licensing laws, and more adequate financing of present facilities, both through extended public support and an improved fee charging practice. The child care center has a primary social function, said this speaker, and should claim its place in community social service planning and sharing of responsibility.

The primary responsibility of administration in dealing with the foster home supply situation, said Callman Rawley, Executive Director of the Minneapolis Jewish Family and Children's Service, is "to enable practitioners to do good work, by keeping case loads within bounds and giving status to foster parent work." This speaker felt that development of facilities for temporary placement to avoid too early placement of children, and maintenance of an administrative structure which insures prompt home study, as well as centralization of recruitment and board rates covering full costs of care, would also help the situation.

The necessity for developing skilled service in developing and retaining foster homes was emphasized by Marjorie Pitts, District Secretary, Connecticut Children's Aid Society. An agency should provide a sound framework for its staff and supervision which can enable its workers to grow in clarity and understanding, she said. With this as a base, "workers can help foster parents continually to strengthen their relationships to the agency and grow in their ability to provide a stable and meaningful experience to children while

they are in need of the care requested for them by their families or by the community."

Social work financing.—The problems involved in the financing of social work were discussed indirectly in many a Conference session, but were handled explicitly in at least two meetings. One of these, the opening meeting of the Community Chests and Councils of America, was a discussion of federated fund raising, its strengths and weaknesses, what it has been able to accomplish for health and welfare services, and what it should do to be more effective. That federation of financing and planning is here to stay was the assertion of Raymond E. Baarts, Director of the Houston (Texas) Community Chest and Council. Although complete consolidation of our major health and welfare councils is not a practical possibility, according to Mr. Baarts, "the days of complete independence and isolation by any major voluntary health or social agency are numbered." In his opinion, sustained advancement of federation will require aggressive leadership in solving the problems created by a multiplicity of drives, recognition of current weaknesses within federation, and the development of a simple definition of the place of organized voluntary services as related to the official program.

The problems involved in federation can be solved by good leadership, said Mr. Baarts. Some of these are created by the struggle between the security of the status quo and the pressures for change and flexibility. Achievement of the basic purposes of federation is delayed by vested interests in particular agencies and the "lack of a common sense of community." A wider participation by the community in studying, planning, financing, and administering health and welfare agencies is needed, he suggested. Although many thoughtful students of federation think we may have reached a ceiling in consolidated giving, it was Mr. Baarts's opinion that "ceilings in giving are more a matter of mind than of fact."

In a panel discussion which followed, it was emphasized that federations should be kept flexible and responsive to the needs of people. One panel member said that reaching a goal means nothing if it has no relationship to needs, and another said that leaders often fail to recognize problems with which people have a serious concern.

At another meeting jointly sponsored by Community Chests and

Councils and the National Social Welfare Assembly, Frank D. Loomis, consultant, Chicago Community Trust, urged that communities give some thought to the community trust as a device for handling the planning for capital gifts. First developed in Cleveland in 1914 and now adopted in eighty other American cities the community trust and its potentialities are still not fully recognized, said Mr. Loomis. He described the trust as "a carefully considered plan for better conservation and better use of capital gifts and bequests for community welfare purposes." The principal or property which has been given is cared for in trust departments of local banks, and responsibility for directing the use of net income and what portion of principal has become available is vested in a committee of citizens selected for representative character and knowledge of charitable affairs. This committee, which usually consists of five to nine members, the majority of whom are appointed by public or semipublic officials, should be nonsectarian, nonpolitical, and should serve without pay. Usually they serve for five years and have the sole responsibility within the terms of each trust fund for the distribution of funds. They maintain an office with a director who receives applications and makes written reports and recommendations to the committee. Sixteen of the eighty communities have more than \$1,000,000 in capital funds, and New York, Chicago, and Cleveland have more than \$10,000,000 each. Mr. Loomis emphasized that a trust fund should coöperate closely with the local chest and council, but should operate as an independent agency. It is essential that it be geared to sound community planning, he said, and it is based on the belief that "the problems of proper collection, conservation, and use of capital gifts for welfare purposes, although it has national repercussions, is primarily a local problem."

IV. COMMON CONCERNS OF SOCIAL WORK

INTERWOVEN IN THE Conference pattern were a number of strands which represented common professional and operational concerns of the now vastly complex field of social work. The participation of citizens in the planning and policy-making for social work activities,

as well as in the carrying out of its programs; the technique and philosophy involved in publicizing and interpreting social work; the role of social work in social action; the push to submit social work's unsolved problems to the scientific research method; and the efforts now being made to grapple with current problems of social work education and personnel—all of these were on the docket for report, consideration, and discussion.

Citizen participation.—The great untapped sources of citizen participation in social welfare was especially emphasized in many of the Conference's major papers. However, there was ample evidence that citizens are increasingly taking an interest in social work programs and that social work itself is at work on the problem of finding new ways in which this interest can be put to good mutual advantage. The Advisory Committee on Citizen Participation of Community Chests and Councils of America and the National Social Welfare Assembly held meetings each afternoon, and the subject appeared on the programs of a number of sections and associate groups.

Speaking on the first program sponsored by the Advisory Committee, H. W. Nisonger, Director, Bureau of Special and Adult Education, Ohio State University, said that education for democracy was everybody's business and that work in health and welfare agencies, as well as in schools, offers opportunities if it is planned and directed. Mentioning the wider use of volunteers in many activities in recent years, he gave as an example the Agricultural Extension Service, which in Ohio has 45,000 volunteer leaders in eighty-eight counties working on councils, leading 4-H clubs, and working at a variety of other activities.

Our experience during the war showed the eagerness of people to help, but there are several points to be kept in mind, he said. Getting people in the right job is of primary importance, and making an opportunity for people to advance is just as important for the volunteer as for the professional. He stressed the fact that the educational aspect was as important as the service aspect and that the tendency to use the same people over and over was not constructive. He said he felt the increased emphasis on sound training for volunteers had been of great benefit both to them and to the agencies.

Communities need more facilities for handling volunteers, he said, pointing to studies which show that many capable people are unidentified with community activities.

Health and welfare planning today is essentially a citizen's job, according to Violet Sieder, Associate, Health and Welfare Planning Department, Community Chests and Councils of America, who spoke on the same program. Planning today is designed to meet the total needs of the community, and it is no longer "the few doing for the many, but the many doing for themselves." A community welfare council is needed in every community as a central place for planning. Though planning is complicated by varied interests, the common denominator is the belief that all people have the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of themselves and their families. In a democracy, said Miss Sieder, we are committed to this and we do not want to spend our energies in patching up broken lives, when we could be creating a community life which would prevent social tragedy. Miss Sieder gave facts and figures collected by Community Chests and Councils of America to show that wider participation was being encouraged by the inclusion of civic and professional agencies in council membership.

At another session sponsored by the Advisory Committee, Dorothy H. Sills, Service Consultant, International Social Service, reported on a study conducted by six national agencies in the casework field. It was found that 95 percent of these local casework agencies used volunteers and would continue to use them. Of these agencies, 91 percent used volunteers in direct contact with their clients. Mrs. Sills stated that while there was a considerable gap between theory and practice, the development of standards for volunteers has led to increasing respect for them.

At this session Rae Carp Weil, Executive Director, Jewish Family Service Association, Cleveland, gave a detailed account of the development of a new district office in a Cleveland area. The report showed how a group of thirty-five carefully selected, representative citizens made a survey to determine the needs of a segment of the population which had moved out of the heart of Cleveland. The group included representatives of the P.T.A., the suburban weekly paper, business, the church, and the school. The success of the

project was due, she said, to the fact that as much freedom as possible was given to those conducting the survey.

The need for close relationship between the professional and the volunteer was emphasized by Thelma Flower, Case Supervisor at the Pittsburgh Family and Children's Service, who also spoke on this program. Only a combined effort can achieve our hoped-for goals, she told the audience, and "the time to begin is now."

A study of the motivations of volunteers, which was conducted by the Advisory Committee, was reported on and discussed at another session chaired by Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work. From information based on 457 questionnaires filled out through volunteer bureaus in 15 cities, and 164 questionnaires answered by registrants at the 1948 Vassar Summer Institute, information about volunteer experience, personal characteristics, likes and dislikes, and motivation was summarized as a basis for furnishing clues about selection and training of volunteers.

Three fourths of the group had done community work, public speaking, and publicity organization of meetings and had acted as group and discussion leaders. A high percentage had had experience in war work, Red Cross, church work, and social welfare service. Forty percent had had no training, and 43 percent had had a little training. Predominantly women between the ages of thirty and fifty, most of the group were housewives, although many were teachers.

They particularly liked committee work except for keeping minutes and financial records. They particularly did not like asking for money and presiding at meetings. They said they did volunteer work because they wanted to be useful, needed to have outside interests, and liked meeting interesting people. While they felt that other people would do volunteer work for much the same reasons, a rather high percent included as a reason for other people: "Can't say 'No.' "

These people felt that, in general, volunteers do good work and are hard-working, that they have energy and drive, work well with professional people, and are warmhearted. They revealed themselves to be happy people, chiefly because of their relationships with chil-

dren, spouses, and friends. Eighty-two percent felt that what was needed in the average American home was more love rather than more firmness. The majority indicated that they were content with their marital status and with the work they did. In answer to a question about whether, if they had it to do over, they would live their lives pretty much the same, most said they would do it the same or a little different. While only 12 percent of the group from the fifteen cities checked "Very different," 28 percent of the Vassar group checked this item.

Following the presentation of this material, the first of its kind, there was a discussion of its significance. Suggestions were made as to how future questionnaires might be devised, and plans for the work of the Committee were discussed by the group.

Analysis of volunteers' duties and discussion of community experience in the work of volunteers and problems of working relations were on the programs of several sections and associate groups.

At a meeting of the social group work section, in a paper on the working relationship of membership, board, and staff, Mrs. Sumner Spaulding, President of the Metropolitan Board of Directors of the Pittsburgh Young Women's Christian Association, attacked one of the more prevalent ideas about volunteer-staff relations. "I question very much," she said, "if many volunteers have any desire to assume either the prerogatives or the skills of staff people." It is the staff member's job to see that volunteers know where the two jobs fit together and what is involved in each. Furthermore, she added, "no volunteer worth his salt is content or satisfied to play a completely passive role, but prefers to be prodded and stimulated to move ahead in learning and in responsibility."

At the opening meeting of the section on administration, two papers concerning membership on boards of directors brought out important points as to the significance of the job of the "administrative volunteer." Robert F. Nelson, General Superintendent, United Charities of Chicago, stated that the important factor is that a board exists and that it does so in the interest of and for the well-being of the total agency which it represents. Mr. Nelson distinguished between the board which is provided for by law, as in a public agency, and the board which is created by legally charged

administrative officials of an agency. Whatever the technicalities under which the board operates, there are some fairly weighty responsibilities involved, he concluded. These he gave through a quotation from Dr. Michael Davis as follows:

NINE DUTIES FOR BOARD MEMBERS

1. To know why the organization exists and annually to review why it should
2. To govern a board or a committee through joint thinking, not by a majority vote
3. To give money, or help get it, or both
4. To face budgets with courage, endowments with doubt, deficits without dismay, and to recover quickly from a surplus
5. To deal with the professional staff as partners
6. To keep far enough ahead of the community to be progressive and close enough to be practical
7. To interpret social work to the public in words of two syllables
8. To be proud of a tradition but eager to improve it
9. Always to combine a New England sense of obligation with an Irish sense of humor

The important role of the citizen in an international program, according to Frances Kernohan, Chief of the Social Branch of the State Department's Division of International Labor and Social Affairs, is to "fix the limits within which our government must operate in international affairs." Citizens provide the "ferment of constructive thinking," she added, and foreign policy cannot get very far ahead or behind public opinion. Specifically, at present the citizen can take part in the feeding and care of the world's children through the International Children's Emergency Fund. He can also find, through local chests and councils or the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, a United Nations Fellow who may be in his community.

Mental health is the business of every citizen, said Dr. Luther E. Woodward, Field Consultant, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, because "all of us covet the opportunity and strength to take living in our stride." The passage of the National Mental Health Act occurred only because our citizens were interested in seeing this legislation enacted and told their Congressmen so. There are many similar opportunities for citizens to improve state mental

health programs, Dr. Woodward said. For example, it is true that in many places the quality of care given in our state hospitals reflects the indifference of citizens more than professional neglect. Dr. Woodward reported that there has been a tendency in some states to oversupply funds for buildings and undersupply funds for staff. Citizens must catch up with what those active in mental hygiene now know, that though mentally ill patients need housing and physical care, they are cured by skilled, trained professional staff.

Another job for the citizen in the mental health field, said Dr. Woodward, is that of prevention. Prevention must be done by those close to the roots of life. Parents are the "number one builders of mental health and preventers of mental illness," and their chief assistants are their fellow citizens in the professions close to the mass of people—teachers, nurses, clergymen, doctors, and others.

In one group discussion sponsored by the American Association of Medical Social Workers, Mrs. Walter S. Church, board member of both Presbyterian Hospital and the Federation of Social Agencies in Pittsburgh, who acted as discussion leader, made the point that inactive boards induce limitations in functioning. The most frequent complaints about the use of volunteers, she said, was that the same people were asked over and over to do all the work. This group was interested in men volunteers as potential members of medical auxiliary committees. Some of the members of this group felt that because of the quality of volunteer work done by men in hospitals during the war, these committees would be greatly strengthened by such membership. Others questioned whether men could give enough time to be really useful. The most common experience with men volunteers seemed to be in securing their advice on budgets, fund raising, and interpretation of work to the community.

At a meeting sponsored by the National Florence Crittentend Homes, Eleanor W. Custer, Health Education Instructor at Cleveland's Family Service Association, quoted Margaret C. Banning who said that, "every organization has to have a private life the same as any family." However, the speaker added, an organization, like a family, cannot live isolated. There is a great change in the attitude of the volunteer today toward the unmarried mother, she reported. This is reflected in the kinds of service which volunteers initiate.

Miss Custer mentioned as examples in her experience a surgeon who did a fine piece of plastic surgery for a handicapped mother, a cosmetician who was able to help the girls take more interest in their appearance, religious groups which provided parties and entertainment, other groups which made clothes for mothers and their babies, teachers who formed an education committee, and even the Boy Scouts who kept the grounds for the home. The drawing in all of these skills, she said, made it possible to interest in, and stimulate the girls for, a renewed life after leaving the home.

The "curse of middle age" is the real cause of citizens' waning interest in child welfare, according to Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Jr., Executive Secretary, Indianapolis Social Hygiene Association. Mrs. Nicholson pointed out some of the more dramatic accomplishments which were made in the "youth of the child welfare movement," such as taking children out of "prisonlike orphanages," and out of the mills and cotton fields; the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau; and the enactment of protective laws for children in the majority of our states. There are less dramatic but more rewarding opportunities ahead, according to Mrs. Nicholson, and the top challenges in 1949 are for child guidance clinics and other devices to help disturbed youngsters and strengthen professional work with young offenders. Terming many child welfare committees "ineffectual and sterile," she urged that citizen volunteers make it their business to learn more of the philosophy and planning for the children under care. "The citizens are in the position of running interference for the players [the professional staff] without knowing what the score is," she said. Mrs. Nicholson said that the line of demarcation between professionals and laymen "has cleft too deep," and that although actual dealing with children under care is for the professional, the understanding and advice of the laymen should round out the picture.

Citizen participation in child welfare as a channel for interpretation to the public was discussed in terms of concrete accomplishments in her home county by Mrs. Lawrence G. Worstell, a member of the County Child Welfare Board in Athens, Ohio. Mrs. Worstell, a former professional child welfare worker, said that five "blocks to acceptance of new ideas" must be removed: citizens must

experience success in influencing the public servants to do what they demand, and must be willing to provide funds even if it means personal sacrifice; the feelings called forth by questions submitted to the public must relate to children rather than the money to be spent; individuals must feel a personal stake in the program; and able citizens must be so closely associated with the program that acceptance of them transfers itself to community acceptance of the professional worker.

Step by step, Mrs. Worstell described recent improvements in child welfare services in this Ohio county: citizen pressure successfully brought to bear on the county commissioners to install a hot water tank in the children's home; the appointment of a trained child welfare worker and the appointment of a citizen with child welfare experience on the Child Welfare Board; and, finally, the day when 71 percent of the citizens voted for an additional tax levy to finance their child welfare program, the public discussion of the needs having engaged their interest and convinced them that it was necessary. The channel for interpretation must be a two-way channel, Mrs. Worstell emphasized, for though the citizen can learn much from the plans and ideas emanating from the professional, the goal of all child welfare services is to help children lead happy, satisfying lives, and "the source of knowledge of what is expected of the citizens of a community and how acceptance is won, comes from the citizens."

In conclusion, Mrs. Worstell reported that as a result of widespread citizen participation in her community, in a year and a half the annual appropriation for child welfare services had increased from \$27,000 to \$61,000, and "many people who would formerly have thought this an excessive budget, now feel it is too limited."

One of the great advantages of the volunteer worker is freshness and initiative, according to Joseph H. McCoy, General Secretary of the Big Brother Movement of Greater New York, speaking at a meeting sponsored by the Big Brothers of America, and the selection of volunteers is one of the most important tasks of an organization. Mr. McCoy described the role of the volunteer in his organization as that of developing a "natural, friendly relationship" with the boys. A boy is not brought into a personal relationship

with his volunteer Big Brother until a sufficient amount of preliminary work has been accomplished by the professional staff. When the relationship has been established, the professional worker gradually withdraws from personal contact with the boy, but continues to give counsel and advice to the volunteer. Volunteers do not make direct contact with the court, the police, school principals, or others involved in the case and are advised not to give any material aid.

The friendships between a boy and his Big Brother may continue over a long period of time, said Mr. McCoy, frequently carrying over into the period of the boy's vocational adjustment. Often he is able to help the boy become acquainted with many different ways of earning a living and can sometimes be said to be "the spark that kindles the fire of vocational interest, enthusiasm, and imagination in the heart and mind of the boy." Mr. McCoy warned against a Big Brother's trying to "mold a boy in his own vocational image," but stressed the fact that, working with the vocational counselor, he can be of tremendous help in putting the boy on the right road vocationally.

Lay service is the heart of the cancer control program, according to Mrs. Charlotte Payne, Lay Service Director, American Cancer Society, speaking on a panel discussion at a joint session of the American Cancer Society and the American Association of Medical Workers. Mrs. Payne described the many volunteer jobs that are being carried out within her organization, such as the making of cancer dressings; the establishment of "loan and gift closets" which pool such essential items as hospital beds, back rests, wheel chairs, and bedside radios; the provision of transportation for patients needing follow-up treatment; and a highly specialized service known as "home visiting." The latter service is divided into two parts—one which requires contact with family and friends only; and the other, calling for special training, which requires direct service to the patient himself. It is in the situation of giving aid to the cancer patient that one may see very clearly the need for teamwork between the professional and the volunteer, Mrs. Payne told her audience, for the obvious needs cannot be met clearly by one group or the other.

Public relations and interpretation.—As this year's Conference President had pointed out, one of the most important jobs now confronting social work is to clarify and strengthen its relations with the public. An abundance of suggestions as to how this might be done came from many directions.

In a session sponsored by the Family Service Association of America, James H. Scull, Public Relations Director of that organization, and A. A. Heckman, General Secretary, St. Paul Family Service, discussed what they called "growing pains in public relations." It was Mr. Scull's opinion that, nationally speaking, there had been far too little public relations effort in the casework field, which, he maintained, though difficult to interpret, had perhaps the richest content of all social work. He emphasized the public relations value of providing public service, and the need for community chests to make ample allocations to agencies for public relations purposes rather than considering this item a "budget frill."

Mr. Heckman also emphasized the value of public service. "Keeping our symbols before the public does not interpret family service or educate people for family living," he said. He felt that casework could be discussed in everyday terms and that one public relations job would be to discover better methods for referrals. He also felt that fact-finding directed toward better understanding of maladjustment would yield good benefits. He had observed, he added, some reluctance on the part of both board and staff to "advertise" agency service for fear of a great increase in applications. It is true that applications increase after a successful radio program or public forum, but to wait for adequate funds before starting such a program would be "sure stagnation," he said. Mr. Heckman urged coöperation with the public relations departments of local community chests as a way of further agency publicity.

At another session, sponsored by Community Chests and Councils of America, Cornelia Plank, Public Relations Director, Federation of Social Agencies and Community Chest of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, gave a paper on the public relations program for a welfare council. Miss Plank suggested that perhaps both public relations people and social workers have been "too much concerned

with being understood and not enough concerned about being liked." One possible result of growth of specialization, while it has brought important gains in helping people, has been a loss of some of the strengths of earlier social work, which she characterized as warmth, zeal, and dedication. She urged "the full utilization of the strength of social work to help make the profession more universally accepted and liked and, therefore, more easily understood," and warned that public relations, while recognizing the importance of community organization, should not attempt to take over the functions of the council. The four important steps in a sound public relations program, according to Miss Plank, are first, the determination of the problems faced by the organization in gaining and holding public acceptance and respect, confidence, and support; secondly, determination of a public relations concept for the organization; thirdly, decision as to the clear-cut objectives for the public relations program to achieve; and fourthly, putting the public relations program into action, but only after the first three steps have been thoroughly reviewed. The speaker analyzed the problems involved in each of these steps and developed a picture of social work public relations as part of the job of "human engineering." Although new demands are forcing social work, and particularly welfare councils, to adopt new, concrete, public relations programs, it was Miss Plank's opinion that "none of us can go too far off the beam if we remember that people are important."

In the panel discussion that followed, there was some debate about whether it was "better to be liked or to be understood," with one panel member pointing out that social work now knows the psychological implications of needing to be liked and that organizations could well afford to watch this tendency just as individuals need to. Another discussant agreed that interpreting basic principles was important, but said that it should be done briefly, skillfully, and should be tied to something current. "What readers want to read is more important than what you want to tell them," he said. Miss Plank's point about being careful to distinguish between the public relations and program functions was underscored by another member of the panel who said, "Public relations can't set the pace

—it must follow program." He added that he personally felt that emotion could not be divorced from intellect, and that part of our problem was "still trying to sell too much on emotion."

Two interesting papers on promoting public understanding of the needs of delinquent children were presented in a session of the National Association of Training Schools. At this meeting, Norman V. Lourie, Director, Hawthorne Cedar Knolls School of the Jewish Board of Guardians, New York, gave a detailed description of a public relations project undertaken by his organization. The objective was to integrate the school with the community in which it was situated, and involved sending students to a high school off grounds. Individual relationships with the principal guidance counselors and psychiatrists in the community school were built up, and work was done with the staff to help them accept the idea of sending children off grounds, showing that it was good for the children and assuring them it would not break down discipline. The biggest job, of course, was with the children themselves, who were at first made to feel very different from the community children. Mr. Lourie said that this had not been all a success story, but that progress had been such that even the failures were now accepted as part of the hazard by the outside school. As for the people in the community, he felt they had learned through this experience that the children from the school are not too unlike their own, except in degree.

There will be little public understanding of our children until the public stops thinking of them as delinquents, Mr. Lourie declared. It is an archaic conception and associated in the public mind with the need for punishment rather than for help. "The public is more likely to support programs for rehabilitation if they can think of children in constructive terms the public must know how we feel about these children, for both the children and the public can look beyond the words into our feelings," said Mr. Lourie in conclusion.

Mr. Scull's suggestion regarding public service was developed in a pair of papers on the contribution of casework agencies to family life education, presented at the final meeting of the casework section. Dr. Luther E. Woodward, Field Consultant, National Com-

mittee for Mental Hygiene, urged caseworkers to take the opportunity to provide groups in their community with family living education, saying that in his opinion social casework training provides more adequate preparation for such education than any other profession. He acknowledged as one of the hurdles the fact that while experienced caseworkers felt confident about their knowledge of family life in the casework situation, relatively few have similar confidence in their capacity to pass on what they know to groups. He assured caseworkers that their training and experience could quite easily be put to work in a group situation, since "the attitude of the successful group leader is practically the same as that of the effective caseworker."

In discussing the many opportunities that can come to a casework agency once it becomes willing to enter upon such a program, Dr. Woodward said that one of the most helpful projects was work with young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, since most groups of this kind have an active interest in learning more about marriage and family living. Another group comprises the parents of school children of all ages who are already organized and will welcome opportunities to learn more about parent-child relations and the promotion of social and mental health. Yet another service is that of helping leaders in the secondary schools to develop family life by education courses for students. As valuable by-products of these activities, they bring the caseworker in touch with more of the community, give the worker a sense of multiplying his usefulness, and increase the number of self-referrals during early stages of family difficulty.

Speaking on the same program with Dr. Woodward was Gertrude Pollak, caseworker, Philadelphia Family Society, who discussed the activities of her organization in family life education. She reported a personal experience in conducting a series of sessions with adolescent girls at the Y.W.C.A. and analyzed the difference between the functions of the caseworker as a group leader and as an individual counselor. From her experience she felt that caseworkers have a worth-while contribution to make to this field and that the methods used are "not so different as one might think" from those used in the casework relationship: She concluded by saying that family

agencies have not yet decided whether family life education is part of their function. Interest alone is not sufficient to provide an answer to this basic question, she said, and further experiments, exploration, and pooling of experience will be necessary before it can be answered.

A particularly lively session sponsored by the National Publicity Council brought out several hundred social workers to "meet the press" in the persons of five health and welfare reporters from New York and Cleveland daily papers. Dozens of questions were asked through the mediator, James H. Scull, most of them aimed at clearing up misunderstandings between social work and the press.

What do newspapers really think about the news value of social welfare? Albert Deutsch, of the New York *Daily Compass*, said that at present social welfare news cannot compare with health and medical news for value, but he felt that the press was not meeting its responsibility in disseminating this news. "It offers the whole field of human drama," he said, "but neither you nor we know how to use it." Do newspapers deliberately pass over social welfare news? "No," said Tod Simon of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. "We judge each story on its news value—whether it will amuse, delight, inform, and excite our readers. We have to do this or people will quit reading newspapers just as you people quit reading your professional journals."

What is the best way to work with the newspapers? "Work with people in advance on a face-to-face basis," said Lucy Freeman, New York *Times*, "and don't stop being a good social worker when working with the press." When the facts of a story have been distorted, Doris O'Donnell, Cleveland *News*, advised phoning a reporter or going to the city editor. Reporters often hesitate to go to an agency, she revealed, because they are afraid they will not get all the facts.

All five reporters stressed the importance of taking the press into one's confidence and giving a story honestly before it breaks from another source. A special plea for the case history was advanced since it is one of the best methods of reporting social welfare news. There was some debate about the use of names and identification. This was not always so harmful as social workers thought, said these

reporters, but "where there is a question of humiliation involved, we can dispense with the 'who.' "

In answer to the question of how the two professions can come closer, Alex Groner, *Cleveland Press*, suggested that some reporters might be interested in serving on committees and boards as a way of learning more about social work. He reported that one of the biggest difficulties in agency-press working relations was that workers did not have the authority they should have to work directly with the press. Reporters cannot wait for the "chain of command," he said, and besides he found it difficult to understand why a worker with a graduate degree must "live such a constricted life when people of comparable training in other professions are completely on their own."

Social action.—The responsibility of social work to focus part of its efforts on prevention of social problems through social action—legislative and other—was a message inherent in many of the major papers presented at this Conference. A special section on methods of social action held one meeting at which Jane Hoey discussed civil rights in social work, a paper mentioned previously in this report. Later in the week the section sponsored three discussion groups on social work action for social justice, led by Frank W. Baldau, Executive Director, Cleveland Community Relations Board; Russell Ballard, Director of Chicago's Hull House; and Albert Deutsch, of the New York *Daily Compass*.

One session of the section on community organization and planning was given to the discussion of legislative action through a community welfare council, with Sydney B. Markey, former Executive Secretary of the Indianapolis Council of Social Agencies and Survey Consultant for the Milwaukee County Survey, presenting the major paper. The first important question is a practical one, said Mr. Markey: Do councils have the constitutional authority and by-law implementation for work on legislative matters? This, he said, was true of some councils, but not of others. Mr. Markey stressed the need for a "workable machine" to be set up by the council which is about to engage in these activities. Members must be notified in some regular way about issues of current concern, he said. Citizen

participation and acceptance by the community of the program is another essential, and there must also be careful selecting and planning of the issues on which the council wishes to put its effort. Problems which councils are now encountering "are to be regarded as positive learning experiences to be cheerfully viewed," said Mr. Markey. It is through such experiences that councils "earn the right to speak as the health and welfare planning authority of their community." "A council which professes to be an over-all body concerned with health and welfare needs cannot stay out of the legislative field," he declared, "for to do so is to deny the realities of today's living in urban communities."

In his remarks on Mr. Markey's paper, Sydney Maslen, of the Community Chest of Greater Toronto, emphasized the contribution which the research activities of the council can make in identifying and studying the community's unmet needs, whether or not the council actually engages in the legislative activity which may be required as a result. Aggressive action regarding legislation, he said, is "essentially a matter of coöperation between the forces working for social betterment." While it is desirable for a council to have freedom to participate in securing the passage of legislation, if there are constitutional or other barriers, it is "necessary for professional social workers to use ingenuity in promoting legislation." Mr. Maslen concluded with an example which illustrated his point that a contribution can be made by the council which is prevented from actively engaging in lobbying in the legislative halls.

At the final meeting of the Family Service Association of America, the responsibility of family service for social action was dealt with by George F. Quinn, cochairman of the legislative committee of the Cleveland Welfare Federation and attorney with the Cleveland firm of Quinn, Horning, and Laporte. "From no quarter will our political and social leadership get larger returns than from investment of thought and endeavor in matters that concern the family," said Mr. Quinn. The best contribution of family service, he said, would be through the development of greater public understanding of the family service program and its objectives, the closer alignment of the individual family agency with the national group, and the constant and continual study and evaluation of the methods

and means employed in approaching the varying problems which confront family service today.

The responsibility of family service for community leadership in the improvement of social conditions affecting the family was brought out by Mary T. Denman, Western Representative for the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, in her comments on Mr. Quinn's paper. She cited historical precedent for this, and quoted the June, 1946, report of the Committee on Current and Future Planning of the Family Service Association of America which states that the primary purpose of the family service agency is carried out by social casework treatment and "community leadership in the advancement of education for family living and in the improvement of social conditions directly affecting family life." Giving examples of leadership of the Association in relation to the public assistance hearings before a Congressional committee, and of family service agencies in Pennsylvania in working for a more adequate public assistance program, she said that family service agencies, through legislative and other social action activity, could put to good use their knowledge of lacks and gaps in community programs.

Research.—The major presentation at the opening meeting of the Conference's section on research in social work was given by John S. Morgan, Associate Professor of Social Work at the University of Toronto's School of Social Work. In assessing those projects now going on in social work in this area, Mr. Morgan said we must not confuse ends with means. Investigation, surveys, statistics, studies, and experiments are methods of research, he said, while research itself is "the process or processes by which we seek the answer to questions posed."

Suggesting that social workers, using their accumulated knowledge, write "the family case histories" of the profession to get at the "why" of social work, Mr. Morgan said that examination was needed in the areas of the basic assumptions of social work, the sociopsychological problems with which social work deals, the research methods itself in the field of social work, and the division of function between public and private agencies.

In discussing action research or operational research, he said that

this "has a valuable place in the techniques of social work research," if it is not permitted to become "one of the many fluctuating extremes of fashionable opinion." He then outlined what he considered the important aspects in the organization, staffing, facilities, financing, publication and use of research, and said that "the central pillar of our framework . . . is a profession in which every worker acknowledges some responsibility for research on the job, in the office, in the classroom, in committee and on the board." These contributions would vary according to talent, he said, but "all must have the essential—a questing mind."

The need for research, particularly in the child welfare field, was brought out at a meeting of the Child Welfare League of America by Gunnar Dybwad, Supervisor of the Children's Division of the Michigan State Department of Social Welfare. We need it, he said, "to explain and evaluate what we have done in the past, to be able to defend or even understand what we are doing now, and to plot the guideposts of future planful action." We have a long way to go to catch up with business and industry and agriculture in this respect, he pointed out, for they "long ago recognized that it is to their own advantage to submit their present procedures and their future plans to the objective and penetrating scrutiny of the research worker."

He agreed with others that research must begin to be considered a specialization within social work, and said that one of the first obligations of any board is to make available for research purpose "an amount of money which is commensurate with the size of the agency's operation regardless of whether this involves tax money, community chest support, or endowment."

Said Mr. Dybwad:

Be not mistaken, research in child life goes on in this country full blast every day, at a cost of thousands of dollars. Only it is the manufacturers of baby clothes, of teen-agers' jeans and finger-tip coats, of bubble gum and soda pop, who are the sponsors. Let us resolve here and now that in the best spirit of competitive enterprise we shall run counter to this overemphasis on shallow materialism and gain support for our research which should be forever aimed at preserving and strengthening those true values on which rests the happiness of our children.

Education.—The importance of giving the social work student more understanding of the "cultural component of behavior" and the opportunity to test cultural materials through field work experience was brought out in a meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. This amounts to a trend of interest in some schools, it was reported, and courses are being offered in the significance of psychocultural factors in the development of personality and behavior and the relationship of culture and social work practice.

The course of social welfare development in many countries of Europe, Asia, and South America has been strongly and favorably influenced by workers "who have creatively adapted to their own cultural setting the methods and techniques learned as foreign students in the United States," it was revealed in another meeting of the Association. Experience shows, it was said, that students selected for training in this country should be motivated specifically in relation to some future social work activity in their own countries, and that a course on major current social welfare developments in selected countries should be planned as part of each school's curriculum, as a means of overcoming our lack of information about social work theory and practice in other countries.

At a meeting of the National Association of Schools of Social Administration in which various aspects of undergraduate education for social work were being discussed, Harold Tascher, Associate Professor of Social Administration at Montana State University, described the social work laboratory set up at the university to administer field training. Administered directly by its student members in collaboration with social agencies and the departmental staff, the laboratory is a means of gaining "real work experience in what amounts to the students' own agency which administers projects in the agency setting." Since social work is "basically education for service to society," said Mr. Tascher, this program is attempting "to use functional methods to prepare students for service to an increasingly dynamic society."

Planning for sound programs of social work education was the subject of a panel discussion, sponsored by the National Council on

Social Work Education and chaired by Nathan E. Cohen, Professor of Social Work at the New York School of Social Work. Two issues to be faced in connection with field work were discussed by Ernest V. Hollis, Director of the current study on social work education, sponsored by the National Council of Social Work Education, and a member of the staff of the United States Department of Education. Mr. Hollis said that field work represents nearly half the cost of preparing a social worker and what field work is intended to achieve has not yet been really decided.

Harriett M. Bartlett, chairman of the study committee and associate professor at the Simmons College School of Social Work in Boston, discussed some of the questions with which the study committee had attempted to deal, and stated that "what social work needs is not so much quick action as sound thinking." She suggested that perhaps it might be well to have "a commission with a ten-year plan for re-evaluating in an integrated manner the functions and proper directions of social work."

Suggestions for closing the gap between demand and supply of social work personnel were offered by Sue Spencer, Executive Secretary of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. These included Federal and state subsidies for social work education, agreement between school and agency on content and method of field work, and block field work plans.

The gap can never be met, declared Ernest B. Harper, head of Michigan State College's Department of Social Service, without preparing some social workers through undergraduate training. The time is not yet ripe, he said, for putting training for social work strictly on the graduate level.

Professionals themselves will have to find the answers to the crucial problems involved in social work education, summarized Donald Howard, chairman of the Department of Social Welfare at the University of California at Los Angeles. There is still room for our professional societies to give impetus to a continuing discussion and development of techniques, said Mr. Howard. The question of what should be priorities in training and how to bridge the gap between supply and demand are professional concerns, and the need to define the nature of a professional job and what is required

to do it represents an extremely important responsibility for the profession as a whole.

Professional associations.—The meetings of social work's professional associations included, besides those programs concerned with analysis of specialized practice of social work, a number of programs dealing with questions of general public concern, some of which have been referred to elsewhere in this report. Evidence that specialized practitioners are interested in developing coöperative relationships with each other was to be found in the numbers of meetings conducted under joint auspices and also in the fact that these coöperative or consultative relationships themselves became the subjects of discussion in some meetings.

Eighty-six of the 108 chapters of the American Association of Social Workers were represented in the meetings of its Delegate Conference held just before the National Conference opened. Resolutions were passed regarding various public social policies, such as civil rights of social workers, and pending legislation on education, housing, social security, and child welfare services. A sheaf of resolutions introduced by the Association's Committee on International Coöperation for Social Welfare was also passed. These concerned developments in the United States State Department, the Displaced Persons Commission, and the United Nations social welfare organizations. This committee noted in its progress report to the Assembly that a group of American social workers had developed plans with the U.N. Secretariat for establishment of American Institutes for Social Studies Abroad. Following a report of the Committee on Interassociation Structure, the Delegate Conference adopted a resolution urging "that work toward establishing a single unified membership organization in social work be carried forward."

The role of social group work and the social group worker in social action, as well as examination of social group work practice in psychiatric settings, were subjects of discussion in meetings of the American Association of Group Workers. This association also gave one meeting to discussion of the progress report of its Committee on Personnel Practices.

The principles involved in case selection, the working relationships between medical social workers and other practitioners such

as social group workers and pediatricians, and the consultative process in work with hospital staff, field staff, and the staff of Federal agencies were some of the subjects under discussion in a series of ten group discussions sponsored on one day by the American Association of Medical Social Workers.

Trends in practice and training, including staff stimulation and development, were priorities on the agenda for the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers. At the annual dinner of the Association, Dr. Douglas D. Bond, Professor of Psychiatry at Western Reserve University's School of Medicine, addressed the membership on the future of psychiatry and social work.

The Association for the Study of Community Organization held two meetings to discuss the teaching and recording of community organization activities, and one in which professional responsibility in community organization was described.

Analysis of the characteristics of school social work and of its structure and practice today was made at one meeting of the National Association of School Social Workers, and the coöperative working relationship between school and community social workers was discussed at another.

Social work personnel.—The urgent problem of the gap between demand and supply of social work personnel was dealt with, not only from the long-range viewpoint in sessions on social work education and training, but in very direct fashion in a panel sponsored by the Social Work Vocational Bureau. Here representatives of the fields of psychiatric social work, settlement work, community chests, Red Cross, and the Veterans Administration testified about shortages of personnel and efforts being made to meet the problem. Irving Greenberg, of the VA, said that though 1,500 social workers were involved in that program, 700 more were needed this year, even without taking turnover into account. Tessie Berkman, who replaced Ethel Ginsberg on the program, reported that immediate goals of the work of the United States Public Health Service under the National Mental Health Act to meet demands for psychiatric personnel were to train 1,700 psychiatrists and 3,400 psychiatric social workers.

Rita Dwyer, representing the United States Employment Service,

expressed "interest in supporting whatever services state and local offices can give" in expanding the professional branches of USES for placement of social workers. She added that social work was not the only professional group which would like special services. It was her opinion that this service should be integrated into professional services of USES that are already established. During the discussion the point was made that establishment of this service in a local or state office was a facilitating device only and would not mean that the number of available workers would increase. It was also brought out that two important causes of the great mobility of social workers were desire to round out experience and dissatisfaction with personnel policies.

It was announced that the special committee of the Social Work Vocational Bureau, which is now working with USES on expansion of its services to include social work placements, has published a set of procedures for local social work groups to use in approaching local employment offices. Experimental projects are now being worked out jointly by social work groups and USES units in ten localities over the country.

A progress report on plans for the study of social work salaries and working conditions being conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics was given at a meeting sponsored jointly by the National Council on Social Work Education and the National Social Welfare Assembly, and chaired by Fred K. Hoehler, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee for the study. Plans are progressing for state welfare directors to be asked to serve as chairmen of the state and local committees which will be necessary to implement the study, chiefly because lists of agencies and community social work personnel will be used in drawing up a national sample to be studied. National organizations are being asked to inform their local units regarding the plans for the study, in order to gain wide participation. Generally, community welfare councils will be looked to for assistance to the state committees. It was also reported that the Bureau of Public Assistance and the Children's Bureau were assuming responsibility for studying data regarding employees in their agencies.

A philosophical approach was combined with the practical in dis-

cussion of staff development and accountability on the program of the administration section, and in papers on the merit system in public welfare and state field supervision in the section on public welfare.

Social workers have at their finger tips casework knowledge which contains ingredients fundamental to the growth and development of individuals, said Anne Wilkens, Training Consultant at the Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, in a paper on the contributions of casework concepts to staff development. Though "we are skillful in applying it in situations relating to the needs of our clients," she said, we are "less confident and secure in translating the knowledge into a usable form for application to the needs of staff." That the "human element in administration" is half the answer to the job of "turning social policy into social services" was acknowledged by John C. Kidneigh, Associate Director of the School of Social Work at the University of Minnesota:

If we can identify measurable units and can establish standards of performance for each unit, it is likely that we can approach success in effective management of staff time in social agencies, [but] the other half of the answer is in the human beings to be assigned to these units of work under these established standards of performance.

There must be a reasonable unity of staff in philosophy, he said, for the optimum performance cannot be expected unless agency personnel hold "relatively the same views concerning the objective" and "accept relatively the same methods or procedures for working toward that objective." Emphasizing the need for attention to in-service training and to the known principles of group dynamics and group interaction, Mr. Kidneigh said there must be developed "appropriate measures to motivate groups as well as individuals in our agencies, encouraging initiative and drawing from each group, as well as each individual, all that it has to give."

Accountability is essential, not only to democratization of social services, but to their very preservation, said Donald Howard, chairman of the Department of Social Welfare, University of California at Los Angeles. Social agency staff members are accountable to themselves, their administrative colleagues, their colleagues in the labor movement, the persons they serve, and to contributors, taxpayers,

and the broader public, he said. Though social workers are not now so much obliged to account for themselves to political and other vested interest groups, Mr. Howard reminded his audience that a considerable part of the current opposition to social services is "based on a contention that agencies are likely to become part of a tremendous bureaucracy accountable only to itself and therefore perpetuating itself and heaping upon taxpayers ever increasing burdens over which the public has little effective control."

The public welfare field "has some reason for gratification in the progress made in attaining the basic objectives of a merit system," said Albert H. Aronson, Director of the Federal Security Agency's Division of State Merit System Services, but there is room for progress in even the best system, and "in some systems it cannot really be said that the objectives have been attained." In discussing the first ten years of experience under the merit system amendment to the Social Security Act, Mr. Aronson said that in the postwar period, the continued high level of employment and the failure of welfare departments to adjust salaries in line with rising cost of living had made recruitment difficult. Though the stringency of the labor market has eased to some extent, he said, salary adjustment and recruitment remain major problems. Difficulties have been created in many states by the fact that holding of competitive examinations has lagged far behind the actual appointment of provisional employees.

The relationship between competence and competition should be recognized in evaluating the system, declared Mr. Aronson. There are often differences ranging from 2 to 400 percent between the most competent and the marginal workers in any field, and since "competence is not a matter of measurement against an absolute standard, but a comparison of persons in the field," reliance on minimum qualifications rather than competition for selection is inadequate. The comparison process is damaged by restrictions such as local residence requirements or by failure to interest the best available persons in the job, he said.

Selection of persons for employment and utilization of the full abilities of employees are the two most important jobs of personnel administration, Mr. Aronson said. Effective recruitment and the

use of available examining devices are the best ways of meeting the problem of selection, but the problem of promotion and the problem of tenure remain two outstanding dilemmas in the field. The first involves the question as to whether "longevity rather than leadership becomes the basis of promotion," and the second involves the question of how to set up a system that affords protection for the employee against arbitrary removal and protection for the employer against incompetent workers. This problem is often difficult because administrators are sometimes reluctant to use their powers or are sympathetic with their incompetent employees and their dependents. "A merit system must be sure that it does not so complicate the machinery for notifying the employee of charges and for hearing appeals that administrators follow the path of least resistance," Mr. Aronson declared.

The maintenance of the high morale of an organization is a never ending task, he said, for it is dependent on continuing achievement on the job, "as well as upon a sense of fairness and participation in congenial and purposeful teamwork." Mr. Aronson discussed a number of factors which are component parts of morale, among which was the fact that,

A career system cannot be built without some provision for the retirement of the superannuated. . . . Workers who are concerned with the protection of the public against the hazards of old age, unemployment and illness are no less subject to these hazards themselves . . . the extension of social security in its broadest sense to public employees is a necessary element of a career system as well as a necessary element of social progress.

Speaking on the same program, Robert P. Wray, Deputy Secretary of the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Assistance, said that the merit system principle "is conducive to good personnel administration," but that if these principles are really to be effective there must be continued and emphatic emphasis on supporting conditions, such as good recruiting devices and examination standards, adequate job audit techniques, and appropriate job specifications, and a plan for performance appraisal that includes employee participation. "The proof of a good merit system is in the job performance of the employees," said Mr. Wray, adding that much of

this is dependent on good agency administration. The merit system in public welfare, he said, will be better advanced "if each operating agency faces up squarely to a good job of personnel administration in its largest sense—even if this means limiting the functions of many merit system agencies as now established."

A very definite understanding on the part of everyone involved as to what responsibility and authority the field representative has, is of primary importance in field supervision, declared Edith G. Ross, Director of Local Welfare Services, Louisiana Department of Public Welfare. In her discussion of state field supervision, this speaker said the field representative has a dual relationship with the local department—to help it do its job effectively; and to assess the performance in terms of state policy. Field staff must feel a major responsibility in the area of policy-making, she said, and must develop the ability to convey some of this responsibility to local staff.

The field representative who is assigned to an area with both urban and rural communities has to learn to adjust to a different approach between the small rural department where he is doing a teaching-supervising job and a larger urban unit where he is really giving administrative supervision, Mrs. Ross pointed out. However, she said, one of the problems in the supervision of smaller units is the temptation for the field representative to take too active a part in the supervision of workers, and she urged consideration of the known devices for working with staff when the director is included. In analyzing the relationship between the field representative and the local director, she said that the security of the latter depended in large measure on the methods employed by the field representative.

Mrs. Ross emphasized the importance of case reading and close attention to preparation of field reports, as well as participation in staff training and holding of other group meetings. Experience has shown, she said, that in the case of a multiservice agency, "the director is more secure and the local unit operates more effectively when the director has one supervisor who is responsible for the field service in relation to the total local program."

The responsibilities of the state office staff to the field representative, she said, are to provide adequate supervision, an adequate staff

development program, including a definite plan of staff training when new responsibilities are to be assumed, "adequate tools to do the job," and, finally, the responsibility to "keep him in the know." The future of public welfare programs, concluded this speaker, "depends largely on how well we can improve and strengthen our field service."

In her comments on Mrs. Ross's paper, Mildred Creager, Supervisor of Field Services, Division of Social Administration, Ohio State Department of Public Welfare, said that the trend toward integrated field services, as against unilateral field services, "speaks for itself." More effective operation is possible, she said, with one field staff, even with all it requires of the individual field representative. Special consultant services can then be used on a planned basis, she added, with over-all development for all programs still the focal point of the field representative's efforts.

"Everybody has a piece of the world's trouble," it has been said. In these Conference sessions, which were designed to bring out the role of social work in the common effort to resolve the great conflicts of our time, there was evidence that an enormous amount of social work activity is being directed toward helping individuals, groups, and communities solve their "pieces" of the world's conflicts. In spite of the many practical problems which now press for solution within the profession, these Conference materials show good reason for honest satisfaction at social work's past achievement and offer hope that it can grow toward fulfillment of its potentialities in the future.

Appendix A: Program

GENERAL SESSIONS

**GENERAL THEME: TOWARD A BETTER LIFE—THE POSITIVE
ROLE OF SOCIAL WORK IN RESOLVING SOCIAL CONFLICT AND
ATTAINING SOCIAL GOALS**

SUNDAY, JUNE 12

Social Goals for the Nation and the World

Louis Wirth, President, American Council on Race Relations;
Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Civil Rights Versus Civil Strife

Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Dean, George Warren Brown School of
Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis

The Public and Social Welfare

Ralph Blanchard, President, National Conference of Social Work;
Executive Director, Community Chests and Councils of America,
New York

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

Unique Possibilities in the "Melting Pot"

Margaret Mead, Associate Curator of Ethnology, American Mu-
seum of Natural History, New York

Coöperation of Education and Social Work

Earl J. McGrath, United States Commissioner of Education, Fed-
eral Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

How Much Social Welfare Can America Afford?

Eveline M. Burns, Professor of Social Work, New York School of
Social Work, Columbia University, New York

Coöperation of Industry and Social Work

Meyer Kestnbaum, President, Hart Schaffner and Marx, Chicago
Harry E. O'Reilly, National Director of Organization, American
Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Or-
ganizations, Washington, D.C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

National and World Coöperation versus Provincialism

George E. Haynes, C.B.E., President, International Conference of Social Work; Secretary, National Council of Social Service, London Annual Business Session

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

Coöperation of the Church and Social Work

Frank L. Weil, Chairman, President's Committee on Religious and Moral Welfare and Character Guidance in the Armed Forces, New York

Charles P. Taft, Former President, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Cincinnati

Cecelia McGovern, Commissioner, Youth Service Board, Boston Freedom with Security

Paul Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois, Washington, D.C.

THE SECTIONS**I. SOCIAL CASEWORK**

Thomasine Hendricks, Principal Training Consultant, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., Chairman

Ralph Ormsby, Executive Director, Family Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Thomasine Hendricks, Principal Training Consultant, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., presiding

How Can Social Casework Meet Human Need Today?

1. The Contribution of Social Casework to the Whole Field of Social Work

Ruth Smalley, Professor of Social Casework, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh

2. The Fundamentals of Social Casework as Taught in a Two-Year Social Work Curriculum

Grace White, Associate Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York

3. Generic Aspects of Specialized Settings

Helen Harris Perlman, Associate Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

Group Meeting 1 (Joint Session with Section IX—Mental Health)
Contributions of Casework to Mental Hygiene

1. Social Aspects of Mental Illness
2. Casework Services with the Mentally Ill in a Regional Office of the Veterans Administration
Glenn Johnson, Chief, Social Services, Veterans Administration Regional Office, San Francisco
3. Casework Services in a Veterans Administration Mental Hygiene Clinic
Charl Rhode, Chief Social Worker, Mental Hygiene Clinic, Veterans Administration Regional Office, San Francisco

Group Meeting 2 (Joint Session with Section IV—The Aged)

Thomasine Hendricks, Principal Training Consultant, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., presiding

Special Applications of Casework

1. Casework with the Aged
Della K. Milder, Casework Supervisor, Benjamin Rose Institute, Cleveland
2. Casework with Children
Patricia Sacks, Associate District Secretary, Community Service Society, New York
3. Casework with the Vocationally Handicapped
Adeline Johnesse, Psychiatric Social Work Consultant, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Group Meeting 3 (Joint Session with the Planned Parenthood Federation of America)

Lucia Clow, Director, Family Service, Milwaukee, presiding

Marital Relationships

1. Diagnosis in Marital Discord
Regina Flesch, Caseworker, United Charities of Chicago, Family Service Bureau, Chicago
2. Premarital Counseling as One Agent in the Prevention of Marital Conflict
Jean Brodsky, Case Consultant, Planned Parenthood Committee of Kings County, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Group Meeting 4

Grace Browning, Director, Division of Social Services, Indiana University, Indianapolis, presiding

Casework Experience in International Programs

1. Observations of International Fellows on Casework Practice in the United States

Eunice Minton, Principal Training Specialist (International), Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Discussant:

Margaret Steel Moss, Executive Director, Dauphin County Board of Assistance, Harrisburg, Pa.

2. Casework with Displaced Persons

Rose E. Dratkin, Director, Family Service Department, United Service for New Americans, New York

Group Meeting 5

Staff Development

The Contribution of Casework Concepts to Staff Development

Anne Wilkens, Training Consultant, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

(Joint Session with the Committee on Social Service Exchange of Community Chests and Councils of America)

How Methods in the Use of the Social Service Exchange Affect Diagnosis and Treatment in the Casework Process

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Thomasine Hendricks, Principal Training Consultant, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., presiding

Some Effects of Agency Setting and Purpose on the Process of Giving Financial Assistance

1. In the United States Bureau of Public Assistance

Vocille Pratt, Chief, Assistance Unit, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

2. In American Red Cross in One Military Hospital

Elizabeth Davis, Field Director, American Red Cross, United States Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Md.

3. In One Private Family Agency

Theodore R. Isenstadt, Executive Director, Jewish Family Service Association, Newark, N.J.

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

(Joint Session with the Family Service Association of America)

Ralph Ormsby, Executive Director, Family Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, presiding

The Contribution of Casework to Family Life Education

1. The Contribution of the Casework Agency to Family Life Education

Luther Woodward, Field Consultant, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York

2. The Contribution of Casework Practice to Family Life Education

Gertrude Pollak, Caseworker, Family Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia

II. CHILD CARE

Kenneth L. Messenger, Director, Janet Memorial Home, Elizabeth, N.J., Chairman

Helen C. Hubbel, Chief, Division of Rural Child Welfare, Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pa., Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

(*Joint Session with the Church Conference of Social Work*)
The Churches' Responsibility for Children

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

(*Joint Session with the Child Welfare League of America*)

James Brown, Director of Research, Chicago Community Trust, Chicago, presiding

How Can Public and Private Agencies Work Together to Meet the Needs of All Children?

1. Logical Functions of Public Agencies in Behalf of Children
Roman L. Haremski, Director, Children's Division, Chicago Department of Welfare, Chicago

2. Logical Functions of Private Agencies in Behalf of Children
Walter P. Townsend, Executive Secretary, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

(*Joint Session with the National Social Welfare Assembly*)
Plans for the 1950 White House Conference on Children

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

Group Meeting 1

Byron T. Hacker, Director, Children's Center, Hamden, Conn., presiding

Intake Practices—the Core of the Agency's Service in Helping Children and Their Parents

Eleanor P. Sheldon, Director, Family and Children's Center of Stamford, Stamford, Conn.

Discussants:

Richardson L. Rice, Executive Secretary, Children's Bureau, Syracuse, N.Y.

Natalie Dunbar, Director of Casework, Children's Service Bureau, Pittsburgh

Group Meeting 2

Kenneth L. Messenger, Executive Director, Janet Memorial Home, Elizabeth, N.J., presiding

The Unique Values in Institutional Care

Fred A. Schumacher, Executive Director, St. Christopher's School, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.

Discussants:

Winifred Walsh, Executive Secretary, Mary Bartelme Club, Chicago

Claudeline Lewis, Assistant Professor of Child Welfare, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Group Meeting 3

Helen Hubbel, Chief, Rural Child Welfare Division, Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pa., presiding

1. Helping the Neglectful Parent Assume Responsibility for His Child

Barbara Smith, Case Supervisor, Protective Services Division, Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore

2. Casework with Parents of Our Foster Children

Richard Lewis, Jr., Executive Secretary, Children's Bureau, Dayton, Ohio

Discussants:

Grace Nichols, Supervisor, Children's Service Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Ruth Weisenbarger, Assistant Director, Sheltering Arms Children's Service, New York

Group Meeting 4

C. Rollin Zane, Executive Director, Children's Village, Connecticut Children's Aid Society, Hartford, Conn., presiding

1. The Role of the Psychologists in Planning the Early Adoptive Placement

Helen Rome Marsh, Chief Psychologist, Cleveland Guidance Center, Cleveland

2. Early Adoptive Placements as Seen by the Placing Agency

Mary E. Fairweather, Supervisor, Adoption Service, Children's Services Adoption Bureau, Cleveland

Discussant:

Weltha M. Kelley, Director of Casework, Catholic Home Bureau, New York

Group Meeting 5

Mrs. Herbert Fisher, Chairman, Connecticut Juvenile Commission; member, Connecticut Public Welfare Council, Hartford, Conn., presiding

Citizen Participation in Child Welfare as a Channel for Interpretation to the Public

Mrs. Lawrence G. Worstell, member, County Child Welfare Board, Athens, Ohio

Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Jr., Executive Secretary, Indianapolis Social Hygiene Association, Indianapolis

Discussant:

Mrs. George West, President, Metropolitan Board of Directors, Y.W.C.A., Pittsburgh

III. DELINQUENCY

Robert C. Taber, Director, Division of Pupil Personnel and Counseling, Board of Education, Philadelphia, Chairman

Thompson R. Fulton, Acting Head, Department of Social Work, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va., Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Clinton W. Areson, Superintendent, State Agricultural and Industrial School, Industry, N. Y., presiding

The Progress of the Youth Authority

John R. Ellington, Special Adviser, Criminal Justice of Youth, American Law Institute, Long Island City, N.Y.

Panel Discussion.

Chairman: Leonard W. Mayo, Vice-President, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Panel Participants:

Gustav Schramm, Judge, Juvenile Court, Allegheny Co., Pa.

John B. Costello, Superintendent, Boys' Vocational School, Lansing, Mich.

Grace A. Reeder, Director, Bureau of Child Welfare, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N.Y.

John C. Kidneigh, Associate Director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

Robert C. Taber, Director, Division of Pupil Personnel and Counseling, Philadelphia Board of Education, Philadelphia, presiding

A Constructive Approach to the Implications of the Kinsey Report

What Does the Kinsey Report Mean for the Educator? Discussion of Adult Anxieties Growing out of the Report

Fritz Redl, Professor of Social Group Work, School of Public Affairs and Social Work, Wayne University, Detroit

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

Group Meeting 1

Roy L. McLaughlin, Superintendent, Connecticut School for Boys, Meriden, Conn., presiding

The Psychopathic Delinquent

The Problem of the Psychopathic Delinquent

R. L. Jenkins, M.D., Clinical Associate Professor of Psychiatry, College of Medicine, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.

Discussants:

Oscar B. Markey, Consulting Psychiatrist, Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court, Cleveland

Gunnar Dybwad, Supervisor, Children's Division, Department of Social Welfare, State of Michigan, Lansing, Mich.

Group Meeting 2

Charles W. Leonard, Superintendent, Illinois State Training School for Boys, St. Charles, Ill., presiding

Influence of Motion Pictures, Radio, and Comics on Children

1. The Efforts of the Motion Picture Industry to Improve Productions for Children

Arthur H. DeBra, Director, Community Relations Department, Motion Picture Association of America, New York

2. The Efforts of the Broadcasting Companies to Improve Programs for Children

John McCormick, Manager, Station WTAM, National Broadcasting Company, Cleveland

3. The Efforts of the Comics Magazine Publishers to Improve the Comics

Henry E. Shultz, Executive Director, Association of Comics Magazine Publishers, New York

Panel Discussion.

Chairman: Robert C. Taber, Director, Division of Pupil Personnel and Counseling, Philadelphia Board of Education, Philadelphia

Panel Participants:

Edwin F. Helman, Director, Station WBOE, Board of Education, Cleveland

Ethel V. Brewer, Lakewood, Ohio

Rabbi Julius J. Nodel, the Temple, Cleveland

Simon Stickgold, Chief, Division of Special Services, Illinois Public Aid Commission, Chicago

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Group Meeting 1

Richard A. Chappell, Chief, Division of Probation, United States Courts, Washington, D.C., presiding

New Community Approaches to Juvenile Delinquency

1. The Connecticut Project

Mrs. Herbert Field Fisher, Chairman, Juvenile Welfare Committee, State of Connecticut, Hartford, Conn.

2. The Central Harlem Street Clubs Project

James R. Dumpson, Consultant on Delinquency and Correction, Welfare Council of New York City, New York

3. Responsibility of Community Groups

Fritz Redl, Professor of Social Group Work, School of Public Affairs and Social Work, Wayne University, Detroit

Group Meeting 2 (Joint Session with the National Association of School Social Workers)

Thompson R. Fulton, Acting Head, Department of Social Work, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va., presiding

The Role of the Public School in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

1. The Role of the School Social Worker

Rachel Dunaway Cox, Assistant Professor of Education and Psychology, Director of the Child Study Institute, Bryn Mawr College, Swarthmore, Pa.

2. Professional Training for the School Social Worker

Mary N. Taylor, Instructor in Social Casework, Institute of Social Work, University of Michigan, Detroit

IV. THE AGED

Margaret W. Wagner, Executive Director, Benjamin Rose Institute, Cleveland, Chairman

Val M. Keating, Regional Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, San Antonio, Texas, Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Margaret W. Wagner, Executive Director, Benjamin Rose Institute, Cleveland, presiding

A New Approach to the Health Problems of the Aged

1. Psychological Factors Necessary to Good Health

Edward B. Allen, M.D., Psychiatrist, New York Hospital, Westchester Division, White Plains, N.Y.

2. Prevention and Rehabilitation

Murray B. Ferderber, M.D., Consultant, Allegheny County Institution, Pittsburgh

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

(*Joint Session with the Church Conference of Social Work*)

The Role of the Church in Making Life Meaningful to the Older Person

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

(*Joint Session with Section I—Social Casework, Group Meeting 2*)
Special Applications of Casework

(*Joint Session with Section V—Social Group Work, Group Discussion 1*)

A Record on Group Work with the Aged

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

(*Joint Session with the National Committee on Homemaker Service*)
Margaret W. Wagner, Executive Director, Benjamin Rose Institute, Cleveland, presiding

Supplementary Services Needed in Addition to Financial Assistance

1. What Do Older People Want?

Elizabeth Breckinridge, Director, Community Project for the Aged, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, Chicago

2. Homemaker Service

Dora Goldfarb, Director, Community Homemaker Service, Jewish Family Service, New York

Discussant:

Mary L. Thompson, Executive Secretary, Chicago Hearing Society, Chicago

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

(*Joint Session with Section VI—Community Organization and Planning, Group Meeting 2*)

Planning for the Care of the Aged

V. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Walter L. Kindelsperger, Professor of Group Work, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, Chairman

Clyde E. Murray, Head Worker, Union Settlement Association, New York, Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Walter L. Kindelsperger, Professor of Group Work, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, presiding

1. Social Goals and Group Work

Grace Coyle, Professor of Social Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

2. Today's Social Situation—a Challenge for Action toward Social Goals

Gertrude Wilson, Professor of Social Group Work, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

(*Joint Session with the Section on Research in Social Work*)

Clyde Murray, Head Worker, Union Settlement Association, New York, presiding

1. Membership, Board, and Staff—the Team That Works toward Social Goals

Mrs. George West, President, Metropolitan Board of Directors, Y.W.C.A., Pittsburgh

2. Evaluation of Attainment of Social Goals in Small Groups

Saul B. Bernstein, Professor of Social Work, Boston University, School of Social Work, Boston

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

Group Discussion 1 (Joint Session with Section IV—The Aged)

A Record on Group Work with the Aged

Chairman: Lucia J. Bing, Secretary, Committee on Older Persons, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland

Discussion Leader: Florence Ray, Secretary, Group Work Council, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland

Group Discussion 2

An Administration Record Demonstrating the Participation of Board, Lay, and Professional Staff Members in the Attainment of Group Work Goals

Chairman: Margaret Logan Clark, Leadership Services Department, National Board of the Y.W.C.A., New York

Discussion Leader: Helen Rowe, Associate National Director, Camp Fire Girls, New York

Group Discussion 3

Chairman: Lolette Crutcher, Program Director, Cleveland Girl Scout Council, Cleveland

Discussion Leader: Margaret Hartford, Executive, American Service Institute of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh

Group Discussion 4

A Record of Teen-Age Project Demonstrating the Social Goals Involved and the Group Work Methods Used in Attaining the Group Goals

Chairman: Juanita Luck, Specialist in Planning, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Discussion Leader: Hazel M. Osborn, Supervisor of Students, New York School of Social Work, New York

Group Discussion 5

A Record Demonstrating Social Action as Program Content in a Club Group Experience

Chairman: Emeric Kurtagh, Head Resident, Kingsley House, New Orleans

Discussion Leader: Frankie Adams, Director, Department of Community Organization, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Ga.

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

Homer Bishop, Assistant Professor of Group Work, School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, presiding

1. The Function of Group Work Agencies in a Democracy

Nathan E. Cohen, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York

2. Summary of Reports from Each Group and Evaluation of Method

VI. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING

Rudolph T. Danstedt, Executive Director, Social Planning Council of St. Louis and St. Louis Co., St. Louis, Chairman

T. Lester Swander, Secretary-Manager, Community Chest, San Antonio, Texas, Vice-Chairman

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

Some Approaches to Long-Range Planning for Health and Welfare

1. What Are We Planning For?

O. W. Kuolt, General Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Rochester, N.Y.

2. A Few Concrete Instances of Long-Range Community Planning
Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

Interrelationships of Local, State, and National Planning

1. The Concern of the Local Council

Elmer J. Tropman, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies of Buffalo and Erie County, Buffalo, N.Y.

2. The Concern of the State Planning Organization

A. David Bouterse, Executive Director, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh

3. The Concern of the National Planning Organization

Robert E. Bondy, Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Community Organization—Manipulation or Group Process?

Donald Van Valen, Executive Director, Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati

Discussant:

Grace L. Coyle, Professor of Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

Group Meeting 1

Legislative Action through a Community Welfare Council

Sydney B. Markey, former Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Indianapolis; Survey Consultant, Milwaukee County Survey, Milwaukee

Discussants:

1. From the Point of View of a State-wide Planning Organization
Mary E. Brooks, Executive Secretary, Missouri Association for Social Welfare, Jefferson City, Mo.

2. From the Point of View of an Independent Action Agency
Sydney Maslen, former Executive Vice-President, Washington Housing Association, Washington, D.C.; Community Chest of Greater Toronto, Toronto, Canada

3. From the Point of View of a Public Welfare Administrator
Thomas J. S. Waxter, Director, Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore

Group Meeting 2 (Joint Session with Section IV—The Aged)

Planning for the Care of the Aged

Leyton E. Carter, Secretary, Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland

Group Meeting 3

Decent Housing for All Groups of the Population

Bleecker Marquette, Executive Secretary, Better Housing League, Cincinnati

VII. PUBLIC WELFARE

F. F. Fauri, Senior Specialist in Social Legislation, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Chairman

Catherine M. Dunn, Associate Professor of Public Welfare and Administration, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York, Vice-Chairman

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

Karl de Schweinitz, Director, Committee on Education and Social Security, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., presiding

1. Implications of Modern Developments in Public Welfare for Relationships between Government and the Individual

J. Sheldon Turner, Chief, Standards and Program Development Division, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

2. The Effect of Modern Developments in Public Welfare on Professional Education and Staff Development

Grace Browning, Director, Division of Social Service, Indiana University, Indianapolis

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Group Meeting 1

Ellen Winston, Commissioner, State Board of Public Welfare, Raleigh, N.C., presiding

Foreign Visitors in the Public Welfare Agencies in the United States, with Special Emphasis on the Effect of Their Visits on International Relations and on Social Work Practice

1. From the Viewpoint of the Public Welfare Agencies

Gunnar Dybwad, Supervisor, Children's Division, State Department of Social Welfare, Lansing, Mich.

2. From the Viewpoint of the Foreign Visitors as Seen through the United Nations Welfare Fellowship Program

Elma H. Ashton, Social Affairs Officer in Charge of Fellowships, United Nations, Lake Success, N.Y.

Group Meeting 2

Catherine M. Dunn, Associate Professor of Public Welfare, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York, presiding

State Field Supervision

Edith G. Ross, Director of Local Welfare Services, State Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge, La.

Discussant:

Mildred N. Creager, Supervisor of Field Services, Division of Social Administration, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio

Group Meeting 3

Raymond M. Hilliard, Commissioner, City of New York, Department of Welfare, New York, presiding

The Problem of Relating Public Assistance Payments to Recipients' Needs and How to Obtain Public Acceptance of Such Payments

1. From the Viewpoint of a State Public Welfare Agency

Loa Howard, Administrator, Oregon State Public Welfare Commission, Portland, Oreg.

2. From the Viewpoint of a Local Public Welfare Agency

Thomas J. S. Waxter, Director, Baltimore Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore

3. From the Viewpoint of a State-wide Association for Social Welfare

Mary E. Brooks, Executive Secretary, Missouri Association for Social Welfare, Jefferson City, Mo.

Group Meeting 4

The Merit System in Public Welfare

Albert H. Aronson, Director, Division of State Merit System Services, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Discussant:

Robert P. Wray, Deputy Secretary, State Department of Public Assistance, Harrisburg, Pa.

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

F. F. Fauri, Senior Specialist in Social Legislation, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., presiding
Shall Public Assistance or Social Insurance Be the Basic Measure of Protection against the Loss of Income from Permanent and Total Disability?

1. Public Assistance

Benjamin B. Kendrick, Associate Editor, *American Economic Security*, Chamber of Commerce, United States of America, Washington, D.C.

2. Social Insurance

Alvin M. David, Chief, Program Planning Section, Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Baltimore

VIII. HEALTH

Peter F. Birkel, M.D., Director, Bureau of Medical Care, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N.Y., Chairman

Elizabeth P. Rice, Assistant Professor, School of Public Health, Harvard University, Boston, Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Peter F. Birkel, M.D., Director, Bureau of Medical Care, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N.Y., presiding

1. What Is Medical Care and Its Relation to the Maintenance of General Good Health?

Ernest E. Irons, M.D., President, American Medical Association, Chicago

2. What Is Medical Care and Its Relation to the Maintenance of General Good Health—from the Viewpoint of the Public and Private Patient

Albert Deutsch, New York *Daily Compass*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

Howard L. Russell, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, presiding

1. How Can Communities Organize to Provide Medical Care for Both Public and Nonpublic Patients?

Paul R. Hawley, M.D., Chief Executive Officer, Blue Cross-Blue Shield Commissions, Associated Medical Care Plans, Chicago

2. How Can Communities Organize to Provide Medical Care for Both Public and Nonpublic Patients?—from the Viewpoint of Social Agencies

Lucille M. Smith, Executive Secretary, Interim Commission on Chronic Illness, Chicago (on detail from the United States Public Health Service, Washington, D.C., to the Interim Commission)

IX. MENTAL HEALTH

H. E. Chamberlain, M.D., Consulting Psychiatrist, Sacramento, Calif., Chairman

Lila McNutt, Director of Psychiatric Social Work, Division of Mental Hygiene, State Department of Public Welfare, Madison, Wis., Vice-Chairman

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

H. E. Chamberlain, M.D., Consulting Psychiatrist, Sacramento, Calif., presiding

Mental Hygiene and World Health

1. Mental Health—U.S.A.

Mary E. Switzer, Assistant to the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

2. New Perspectives in Mental Health Planning

Nina Ridenour, Director, Division of Education, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, and Herschel Alt, Executive Director, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York

Discussant:

Margaret Mead, Associate Curator of Ethnology, American Museum of Natural History, New York

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

(*Joint Session with Section I—Social Casework, Group Meeting 1*)

Contributions of Casework to Mental Hygiene

(*Joint Session with the Church Conference of Social Work*)

Alcoholism

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Loyd W. Rowland, Louisiana Society for Mental Health, New Orleans, presiding

Mental Health and National Security

1. Current Threats to Mental Health

Daniel Blain, M.D., Medical Director, American Psychiatric Association, Washington, D.C.

2. Conflicts that Determine Mental Health Patterns

J. D. M. Griffin, M.D., Medical Director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Toronto, Canada

Discussant:

Loyd W. Rowland, Louisiana Society for Mental Hygiene, New Orleans

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

(*Joint Session with the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers*)

Tessie Berkman, Supervisor, Student Unit, New York School of Social Work, Kings County Hospital, Brooklyn, N.Y., presiding

Psychotherapy Surveyed

1. Distinctions between Psychotherapy and Social Casework

Grace Marcus, Professor of Social Casework, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh

2. Psychotherapy and Religion

Frederick Rosenheim, M.D., Director, Judge Baker Guidance Center, Boston

Discussant:

Luther E. Woodward, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York

X. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Eveline M. Burns, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York, Chairman

Tracy Copp, Board of Directors, Green Bay Curative Workshop, Green Bay, Wis., Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., presiding

The Economic Welfare of Children

1. The Role of Children's Allowances

George Davidson, Deputy Minister of Health and Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa, Canada

2. Public Investment in Children

Alva Myrdal, Top Ranking Director, Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, Lake Success, N.Y.

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

(*Joint Session with the National Consumers League. See their program*)

Problems in the Development of Governmental Programs of Medical Care for All the People

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

Group Meeting 1

Florence Peterson, Head, Department of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., presiding

Industry and the Worker's Welfare

1. Industrial Processes and Human Beings

J. S. Felton, M.D., Medical Director, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tenn.

2. The Special Problems of the Married Woman Worker

Hazel Kyrk, Professor of Economics, Department of Economics, University of Chicago, Chicago

Group Meeting 2

John Hill, Director of Research, Philadelphia Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia, presiding

Social Security and Collective Bargaining

1. The Union Welfare Fund

Harry Becker, Director, Social Security Department, U.A.W.—C.I.O., Detroit

2. Welfare Funds: Progress or Retrogression?

John W. Whittlesey, Specialist in Labor Relations, Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, Washington, D.C.

XI. METHODS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Louis E. Hosch, Executive Assistant, American Council on Race Relations, Chicago, Chairman

Harold A. Lett, Chief Assistant to Director, Division against Discrimination, New Jersey Department of Education, Newark, N.J., Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Louis E. Hosch, Executive Assistant, American Council on Race Relations, Chicago, presiding

Civil Rights in Social Work

Jane Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Group Discussion 1

Social Work Action for Social Justice: on the Legislative Front

Discussion Leader: Frank W. Baldau, Executive Director, Cleveland Community Relations Board, Cleveland

Group Discussion 2

Social Work Action for Social Justice: in Agency Administration

Discussion Leader: Russell Ballard, Director, Hull House, Chicago

Group Discussion 3

Social Work Action for Social Justice: in Program Content and Operation

Discussion Leader: Albert Deutsch, New York *Daily Compass*

XII. ADMINISTRATION

Jane M. Hoey, Director of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., Chairman

Bernice I. Reed, Director, Denver Bureau of Public Welfare, Denver,
Vice-Chairman

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

Bernice I. Reed, Director, Denver Bureau of Public Welfare, Denver, presiding

Accountability of Social Agencies—Public and Private, Individual and Group Responsibility to the Public, to Recipients, to Staff, to Other Social Agencies

1. Accountability of Boards of Social Agencies: from the Layman's Point of View

Burton Wilcox, Chairman, State Welfare Board, Center, N. Dak.

2. Accountability of Boards of Social Agencies: from the Professional's Point of View

Robert F. Nelson, General Superintendent, United Charities of Chicago, Illinois

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

John J. Cronin, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Connecticut, Hartford, Conn., presiding

Accountability of Social Agencies—Public and Private, Individual and Group Responsibility to the Public, to Recipients, to Staff, to Other Social Agencies

Accountability of Staff of Social Agencies

Donald S. Howard, Chairman, Department of Social Welfare, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles

Discussants:

Phyllis R. Osborn, Public Assistance Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Kansas City, Mo.

Frances Taussig, Executive Director, Jewish Family Service, New York

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

(*Joint Session with the Section on Research in Social Work*)

Frank Hertel, General Director, Family Service Association of America, New York, presiding

Effective Management of Staff Time in Social Agencies

John C. Kidneigh, Associate Director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Discussants:

Charles Hawkins, Chief, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Welfare, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Jefferson City, Mo.

William Kirk, Associate Director, Community Service Society of New York, New York

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE

Fred K. Hoehler, Director, State Department of Public Welfare, Springfield, Ill., Chairman

Melvin Glasser, Assistant Administrator, Foreign Operations, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C., Vice-Chairman

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

Frances K. Kernohan, Chief, Social Branch, Division of International Labor and Social Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C., presiding

Significant Current Intergovernmental Developments in International Social Welfare

1. Activities of the Economic and Social Council and the Social Commission in the Social Welfare Field

Dorothy Lally, International Activities Technical Assistant to the Commissioner, Social Security Administration, Washington, D.C.

2. Current Activities of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

John Charnow, Chief of Report Section, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, Lake Success, N.Y.

3. The United Nations Program for Advisory Social Welfare Services

United Nations Official

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Melvin A. Glasser, Assistant Administrator, Foreign Operations, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C., presiding

Significant Developments in Voluntary Agency Programs for International Social Welfare

1. Overseas Programs of American Voluntary Agencies

Florence M. Black, Social Science Analyst, Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

2. Programs of International Voluntary Agencies

Wilfrid de St. Aubin, Supervisor, International Agency Relations, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

3. An Evaluation of Trends and Potentialities

Fred K. Hoehler, Director, State Department of Public Welfare, Springfield, Ill.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL WORK

Leonard W. Mayo, Vice President, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, and

Mary Gibbons, Technical Consultant on Welfare Problems, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, New York, Co-chairmen

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

Mary L. Gibbons, Technical Consultant on Welfare Problems, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, New York, presiding

Religion and Social Work—Perspectives and Common Denominators

Shelby M. Harrison, formerly Executive Director, Babe Ruth Foundation, New York

Discussants:

The Right Rev. Monsignor Albert J. Murphy, Diocesan Director, Catholic Charities, Cleveland

Jennie Zetland, Assistant Director, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

Leonard W. Mayo, Vice President, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, presiding

How Can Social Workers Make Intelligent Use of Church Resources?

Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland

Discussants:

From the Point of View of the Caseworker—Mary Helen O'Malley, Supervisor, Bronx Borough, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, New York

From the Point of View of the Group Worker—Louis Kraft, Executive Director, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York

From the Point of View of the Worker in Community Organization—Cleo Blackburn, Headworker, Flanner House, Indianapolis

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL WORK

Donald S. Howard, Chairman, Department of Social Welfare, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Chairman

David French, American Association of Social Workers, New York, Vice-Chairman

MONDAY, JUNE 13

Donald S. Howard, Chairman, Department of Social Welfare, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, presiding
Research in Social Work: a Frame of Reference

John S. Morgan, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada

Discussant:

Helen Wright, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago

TUESDAY, JUNE 14

(*Joint Session with Section V—Social Group Work*)

Membership, Board and Staff—the Team that Works toward Social Goals

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

(*Joint Session with the Association for the Study of Community Organization*)

What Is the Research Component in the Community Survey?

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Edward Schwartz, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., presiding

Judging the Results of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study

Helen Witmer, Supervisor of Research, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass.

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

(*Joint Session with Section XII—Administration*)

Effective Management of Staff Time in Social Agencies

Appendix B: Business Organization of the Conference for 1949

OFFICERS

President: Ralph H. Blanchard, New York

First Vice President: Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Washington, D.C.

Second Vice President: Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.

Third Vice President: Benjamin E. Youngdahl, St. Louis

Secretary: Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.

Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York

Executive Secretary: Joe R. Hoffer, Columbus, Ohio

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Ex officio: Ralph H. Blanchard, President; Martha M. Eliot, M.D., First Vice President; Loula Dunn, Second Vice President; Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Third Vice President; Myron Falk, Secretary; Arch Mandel, Treasurer; Leonard W. Mayo, Past President.

Term expiring 1949: Paul L. Benjamin, Schenectady, N.Y.; Florence Hollis, New York; Margaret Johnson, Cleveland; Dorothy King, Montreal, Canada; Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Rev. Almon R. Pepper, New York; Helen R. Wright, Chicago. *Term expiring 1950:* Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Philadelphia; Mary E. Austin, Washington, D.C.; Marion Hathway, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Faith Jefferson Jones, Chicago; Russell H. Kurtz, Concord, N.H.; Malcolm S. Nichols, Boston; Margaret D. Yates, Dallas, Texas. *Term expiring 1951:* Harriet M. Bartlett, Boston; Florence R. Day, Northampton, Mass.; A. A. Heckman, St. Paul, Minn.; Beth Muller, Chicago; Wilber I. Newstetter, Pittsburgh; Howard L. Russell, Chicago; Ernest F. Witte, Seattle.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Chairman: Edith M. Baker, Washington, D.C.

Term expiring 1949: Edith M. Baker, Washington, D.C.; Karl de Schweinitz, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth Dexter Simonds, New York; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; Roy Sorenson, San Francisco; Char-

Ilotte Towle, Chicago. *Term expiring 1950:* Florence Adams, Birmingham, Ala.; Marian Lowe, Hartford, Conn.; Harry Lurie, New York; J. Milton Patterson, Baltimore; Margaret Reeves, New York; Bertha C. Reynolds, Stoughton, Mass.; Gertrude Wilson, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1951:* Herschel Alt, New York; Charles F. Ernst, Boston; Arthur E. Fink, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Ralph G. Hurlin, New York; Isabel P. Kennedy, Pittsburgh; Mary S. Labaree, Washington, D.C.; Marietta Stevenson, Urbana, Ill.

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Ex officio: Ralph H. Blanchard, New York; Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland; Joe R. Hoffer, Columbus, Ohio.

Term expiring 1949: Julius Goldman, New Orleans; Phyllis Osborn, Kansas City, Mo. *Term expiring 1950:* Marguerite Gauchat, Canton, Ohio; Donald S. Howard, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1951:* Russell W. Ballard, Chicago; William T. Kirk, New York

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Chairman: Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland; Mary Gibbons, New York

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Chairman: Donald S. Howard, Los Angeles

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